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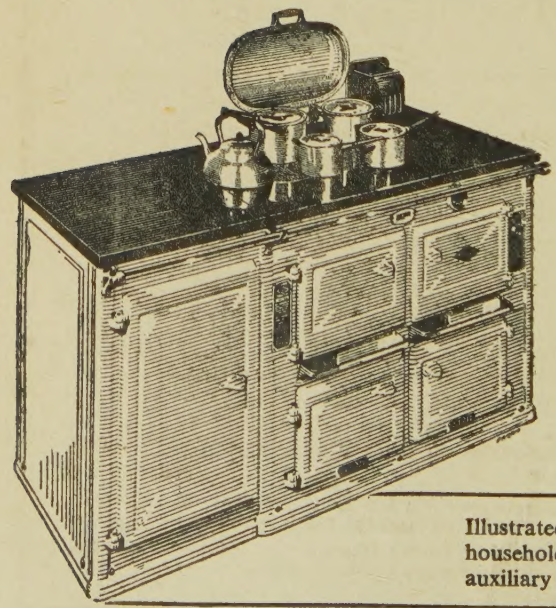

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EQUALITY: AN ANALYSIS*

BY REV. DENIS O'KEEFFE, M.A.
Professor of Ethics and Politics, University College, Dublin

THE democratic system rests in some sense on the idea of equality. It is a vague idea. It is worse than vague, because it is apt to appear deceptively lucid. Equality may be individual, social, civic, political, religious, economic; and, within each of these kinds, there are shades and refinements of meaning. It is not surprising that we find supposed democrats repudiating equality altogether. Lord Morley, in *The Life of Gladstone*, records, from a privately printed account, " a little amicable duel " between Ruskin and Mr. Gladstone, " when Ruskin directly attacked his host as a ' leveller,' ' You see *you* think one man as good as another and all men equally competent to judge aright on political questions, whereas I am a believer in an aristocracy.' And straight came the answer from Mr. Gladstone, ' Oh dear, no ! I am nothing of the sort. I am a firm believer in the aristocratic principle—the rule of the best. I am an out-and-out *inequalitarian*.' "

Mr. Gladstone was, no doubt, an inequalitarian; for all good liberals of that day had some taint of original whiggery. But what we are interested in at the moment is rather the out-and-out equalitarian and it may be doubted if the out-and-out equalitarian is anywhere to be found. These distinctions are matters of degree and of emphasis. It may be reasonable to aim at maximising equality—making it to prevail over wider and wider areas—although one is convinced that ultimately it is impossible to secure and even, in its extreme forms, undesirable. No wise man can be an equalitarian if this implies opposition to the rule of the " best " and if " best " means best fitted to rule. But in this sense the formula is futile. In most other meanings one may well find the rule of the best entirely obnoxious. The rule of virtuous men of mean

* [See " Democracy : An Analysis " by the same author in the issue of June 1939.—Editor.]

intelligence would be a misery and a desolation. Of course Aristotle's man of perfect virtue is *ex hypothesi* fit for any task; but he is, as Aristotle points out, very elusive and difficult to find. Virtue short of perfect may not include political prudence, the practical capacity for government. Moreover, even the wisest are not invariably wise; and since society is always in process of change, there is truth in Bagehot's saying that if, by miracle, the opinions of the wisest were to be imposed upon society, the result would be to stereotype monstrous error.

Not merely the rule of the best but any type of rule excludes equality. Power and political direction imply differentiation of function. You cannot sail a ship with a crew made up exclusively of captains. Office, as Burke suggests, may be open to all, but must be out of the reach of most. Equality in *government*, therefore, is impossible. All governments must be aristocratic in the sense of government by the few, for the effective work of administration cannot rest with the general body of the citizens. The dictatorship of the proletariat has merely a specious suggestion of equality and turns out to be an extreme autocracy. Hence the practical problem even for the most advanced democracy is to devise a system in which the few in whose hands authority must rest should also be the most capable of securing the common good. If minority government is inevitable, we must aim at securing that it will not be arbitrary or incapable or "an aristocracy of blackguards."

Democracy has fallen on evil days. There is an immense and a constantly growing literature against it, not merely in the dictatorial countries but in the democracies themselves. So far as I have been able to dip into this literature, I cannot say that I find it either impressive or stimulating. It seems both arid and evasive and more declaratory than argumentative. There always have been weighty arguments against democracy. But if the arguments were against it, experience seemed to be for it. In the recent arguments there seems to be nothing very novel. The case against democracy has always rested on two grounds: inefficiency and venality.

Democracies perish, as Plato had already discovered, through the absence of skilled knowledge and through the presence of skilled corruption. But it will perhaps be best to examine a definite example of the recent criticism to which I am referring.

A passage in an American book may be taken as typical of the case that is now made against equality. I take it as typical and not because it is particularly striking. It is useful for my purpose, because it touches upon questions which at the moment are in many minds.

> Another error, due to the confusion of human being and individual, is democratic equality. This dogma is now breaking down under the blows of the experience of the nations. It is, therefore, unnecessary to insist upon its falseness. But its success has been astonishingly long. How could humanity accept such faith for so many years ? The democratic creed does not take account of the constitution of our body and of our consciousness. It does not apply to the concrete fact which the individual is. Indeed human beings are equal. But individuals are not. The equality of their rights is an illusion. The feeble-minded and the man of genius should not be equal before the law. The stupid, the unintelligent, those who are dispersed, incapable of attention, of effort, have no right to a higher education. It is absurd to give them the same electoral power as the fully-developed individuals. Sexes are not equal. To disregard all these inequalities is very dangerous. The democratic principle has contributed to the collapse of civilisation in opposing the development of an élite. It is obvious that, on the contrary, individual inequalities must be respected. In modern society the great, the small, the average and the mediocre are needed. But we should not attempt to develop the higher types by the same procedures as the lower. The standardization of men by the democratic ideal has already determined the predominance of the weak. Everywhere the weak are preferred to the strong. They are aided and protected, often admired.[1]

This is an excellent example of the kind of argument with which recent literature abounds. It suggests four points for consideration : (i) that democratic equality implies that all individuals are equal ; (ii) that, since individuals obviously are not equal, they should not have equal civil and political rights ; (iii) that democratic equality prevents the development

[1] Alexis Carrel : *Man the Unknown*, pp. 271-272.

of an élite; (iv) and finally that democratic standardization brings about the predominance of the weak. None of these problems is new; and it is perhaps surprising that a writer with scientific training should consider that merely to state them is to dispose of them. It is unnecessary, he tells us, to insist on the "falseness" of the dogma of democratic equality. Human beings are equal, but individuals are not. The point is a little obscure; but presumably it means that, while all men may pass as men, they differ widely as individuals. It is difficult to see that there is much significance in this assertion. And certainly no democrat who knows what he is about is concerned to deny it. There is no trouble, of course, in finding writers who, for one reason or another, have minimised individual inequalities. So shrewd a thinker as Bacon supposed that his new logical method, in the *Novum Organum*, would reduce all minds to a level. But this was due to his failure to grasp the actual way in which scientific discoveries are made. Thomas Hobbes was of opinion that men do not differ greatly in body or mind, and deduces from this that the natural state of man must be a state of war. The French philosopher Helvétius thought that appropriate education would enable any man to be a Newton. There have even been whole periods when this idea of individual equality was in the air. And this is one reason amongst others why we find the idea embodied in documents like the Declaration of Independence, although the formula that "all men are created equal" is susceptible of more than one interpretation. If "the dogma of democratic equality" means that the average man is, or by some process can be made, as good a poet as Shakespeare or as good a mathematician as Newton, it certainly is unnecessary to discuss its "falseness." But why should anyone suppose that democratic equality implies so absurd a conclusion? Democracy as a political system obviously is interested in equality of opportunity rather than in equality of endowment or achievement. And it is precisely because the intelligent democrat insists upon the value to society of individual differences that he argues for an extension of that equality of opportunity which will enable the "mute, inglorious Miltons" to develop

their latent powers. But all this is commonplace and would not need to be stated if arguments of this kind were not again beginning to appear and apparently to be regarded as possessing some validity.

The writer goes on to tell us that since individuals are not equal, " the equality of their rights is an illusion. The feeble-minded and the man of genius should not be equal before the law. The stupid, the unintelligent, those who are dispersed, incapable of attention, of effort, have no right to a higher education. It is absurd to give them the same electoral power as the fully developed individuals." The point here seems to be that, since individuals are not equal, they should not, in the State, be granted equal civil, political and educational rights. Civil and political rights are important historical categories. Around them the great historical battles for freedom have been fought. Civil equality is equality before the law ; political equality, in a modern democratic community, means an equal share in the election of the legislature or of the government. That the feeble-minded and the man of genius should not be equal before the law seems either to have no meaning or a monstrous meaning. That the stupid have no right to a higher education will scarcely be denied by anyone, except perhaps the stupid themselves. Higher education is not higher unless it can so organize itself as to eliminate the stupid. A democratic community may allow the stupid to have a shot at higher education, but it would be very odd indeed if they hit the mark. That the stupid are granted in a democracy the same electoral rights as fully developed individuals is not due to any tenderness towards their stupidity. Stupidity has such infinite gradations, and it has been found in practice so difficult to devise a universally valid test of political capacity. Attempts, like plural voting, to give greater power to the competent have not been successful or have not been deemed worth the trouble. And finally, the stupid are just as likely or more likely to be influential in non-democratic systems.

That democracy is unfavourable to the development of an élite is a statement which raises problems too intricate for a

brief consideration. One would need to know, first, what an élite is, for it may have reference to a political, a cultural or a moral élite. Each of these is difficult to secure, and the conditions on which they depend are not obvious. But it is scarcely a valid argument against a democratic system that it fails here, unless it can be shown that some other type of State is likely to succeed. Probably the writer has in mind a political élite, but what Mr. T. S. Eliot says, in *The Idea of a Christian Society*, is not inapplicable.

> What are the most fruitful social conditions for the production of works of the first order—philosophical, literary or in the other arts—is perhaps one of those topics of controversy more suitable for conversation than for writing about. There may perhaps be no one set of conditions most suitable for the efflorescence of all these activities; it is equally possible that the necessary conditions may vary from one country and civilisation to another. The régime of Louis XIV or of the Tudors and Stuarts could hardly be called libertarian; on the other hand the rule of authoritarian governments in our time does not appear conducive to a renascence of the arts. Whether the arts flourish best in a period of growth and expansion, or in one of decay, is a question that I cannot answer. A strong and even tyrannous government may do no harm, so long as the sphere of its control is strictly limited; so long as it limits itself to restricting the liberties, without attempting to influence the minds, of its subjects; but a régime of unlimited demagogy appears to be stultifying.[1]

The conditions for the production of statesmen or men of political capacity are no less obscure. That modern democracies have failed to produce them is widely held and may perhaps in recent literature be over-emphasised. Lord Bryce, in his book on *Modern Democracies*, made a careful study of the reasons for the acknowledged decline in the prestige of legislatures and in the quality of members of political assemblies. But Lord Bryce was still optimistic of the future of democracy. He thought that in many directions the democracies had done better than aristocratic governments, and that even in the domain of foreign policy, in which democracies are notably weak, they had done no worse. Since his time the attack upon democratic politicians has intensified, and an

[1] pp. 38-39.

anthology of vituperative literature of this kind would be interesting to the student of politics. That Great Britain has succeeded in avoiding some of the difficulties inherent in the selection of democratic politicians may be due to the fact that she remains an intellectual and social aristocracy, although her political system is now democratic. And still it cannot be said that even in England the voice of criticism is silent.

> And yet, where the destinies of whole nations are at stake, we do not hesitate to entrust the direction of affairs to men of notoriously bad character ; to men sodden with alcohol ; to men so old and infirm that they can't do their work or even understand what it is about ; to men without ability or even education. In practically every other sphere of activity we have accepted the principle that nobody may be permitted to hold responsible positions unless he can pass an examination, show a clean bill of health and produce satisfactory testimonials as to his moral character ; and even then the office is given in most cases only on the condition that its holder shall relinquish it as soon as he reaches the threshold of old age. By applying these rudimentary precautions to politicians, we should be able to filter out of our public life a great deal of that self-satisfied stupidity, that authoritative senile incompetence, that downright dishonesty, which at present contaminates it.[1]

This is strong criticism, but the attack is perhaps more persuasive than the suggested remedies. Certainly the body politic must be of very tough fibre when it can resist such an accumulation of ills. Can it be that critics expect too much or that the small leaven of able people in political life is capable of leavening the whole mass ? In modern representative democracies the task of the legislator is no longer, it may be, so difficult. He is or should be encompassed by experts. Just as the ordinary citizen may be said to perform a relatively, simple task in selecting, once every four or five years, what he considers the lesser of two evils, so the average legislator may get on very well if his party has able leaders and the quality of the civil service is maintained at a high level. Probably a government does more harm by lowering the quality of the higher civil service than by selecting or accepting what it cannot avoid—a number of incompetent members. It is a

[1] Aldous Huxley : *Means and Ends*, p. 174.

more serious menace when—as some critics think has happened in France—politicians become parasitic upon the social organism and develop interests different from the interests of the general body of citizens, when they grant themselves special privileges or release themselves from common obligations. This is rule by politicians for politicians. Privilege is one of the most hateful forms of inequality. The task of an enlightened democracy is not so much to ensure equality as to ensure that the inequality which is incidental to all life in society will be the right kind of inequality. One need not accept Burke's aristocratic philosophy to be convinced of the truth that "the virtues infused into great men" are "the means by which Providence raises a nation to greatness." If this is so, democracies must discover the technique of inequality or perish.

The final point in Dr. Carrel's criticism—that "the standardization of men by the democratic ideal has already determined the predominance of the weak"—is a commonplace argument with those who approach the study of society from the side of biology. "Everywhere," we are told, "the weak are preferred to the strong. They are aided and protected, often admired." All this is very familiar. It was put tersely in Nietzsche's statement that the weak are going to the wall and—let us help to push them. Obviously it is an argument against Christian society rather than against democracy, for it is quite conceivable that a democracy might adopt the types of brutality which have become common in modern autocratic régimes. Majorities have done so in the past. That a modern democracy would be less likely so to act may be admitted, and in so far the argument has, for those who believe in brutality, a certain force. The real object of attack here is Christian ethics and the dignity which, on the Christian idea, attaches to the individual human person. While the Catholic Church is tolerant of any type of government that aims at the common good, there is this connection between Christianity and democracy that only in a Christian environment can a genuine democracy be achieved. This is not at all because Christianity insists on the equality of men. In a very important

sense it does so insist—one thinks of the saying of Pope Gregory the Great : " Omnes namque natura aequales sumus." But it is rather because Christianity insisted on the inalienable rights of the individual that it brought about a change in the social and political environment which, in the long run, tended to be fatal to certain forms of tyranny and brutality. Not that these things can ever be quite eliminated, since men are not uncommonly both weak and wicked. Still not many believe that cruelty and brutality are in themselves preferable to kindness and sympathy. It is more commonly argued that they are unavoidable means to the attainment of some more or less remote utopia. This end justifies the means. This utopian type of thinking is full of moral danger. Intoxicated by future hopes, men become capable of present baseness. One cannot, in the moral sphere, separate in this way means and ends. The means we adopt becomes a part of our end. What we are concerned with is the moral situation as it confronts us here and now. What things will be like in a distant future is a matter for conjecture ; but it is not at once obvious that by brutality now we shall hasten that condition of tender love which, it seems, may be desirable if postponed to a distant future.

What, at the last, is the value of equality and how far should we seek to realise it ? No answer is possible unless we distinguish first between different kinds of equality and then between different stages or planes of historical and political development. In the sense of individual equality, equality is neither possible nor desirable. Civil equality, or equality before the law, does seem essential in modern civilized communities. It is not necessarily connected with democracy, although it seems less likely to be secured in autocratic forms of government. It is arguable that in primitive communities or at certain stages of historical development civil inequality may have been necessary or beneficial. Political equality is altogether relative to certain historical conditions. Primitive communities obviously could not work democratic institutions ; and it seems evident that some communities, otherwise highly civilised, remain politically immature and need and even desire

an autocratic system. Political equality is a means rather than an end. The end is the common good and the possibility of living the best type of life. It is idle to discuss the value of equality as it were *in vacuo*. The real problem is whether a certain kind and degree of equality is valuable in certain concrete historical circumstances.

Professor R. H. Tawney, in his book on *Equality*, discusses the desirability of increasing equality in present-day England. The problem is not merely economic but social, the amenity and charm of a civilisation depending on other factors besides the production of riches. The production of riches, however, is an important element. Equality may be stated as a fact or it may imply an ethical judgment. Equality as a fact is quite untenable. But it can very well be argued that the well-being of a society is likely to be increased if it so plan its organisation that all its members may be "equally enabled to make the best use of such powers as they possess." The equality which is desirable is not equality of capacity or attainment but of circumstances and institutions and manner of life. What is vital is equality of consideration.

> Inequality of power is inherent in the nature of organised society, since action is impossible unless there is an authority to decide what action shall be taken. . . . Some measure, at least, of inequality of circumstance is not to be avoided, since functions differ and differing functions require different scales of provision to elicit and maintain them. In practice, therefore, though inequality of power and inequality of circumstance are the fundamental causes of social *malaise*, there are forms of each which are regarded not merely with tolerance but with active approval.[1]

Inequality of power and of circumstance are approved when they are necessary for the fundamental purposes of society. But there should not be capricious inequality or irresponsible power. What is important, Professor Tawney argues, is not that all men should have the same income but that the surplus resources of society should be properly employed. Advantages and disabilities are in a measure inevitable, but they should be minimised. He suggests two types

[1] R. H. Tawney: *Equality*, p. 153.

of technique for diminishing inequality in England—those which mitigate disparities of opportunity and circumstance, as *e.g.*, extension of the social services and progressive taxation ; and those which set limits to the power of one group to impose its will on another—trade unionism and industrial legislation. The co-operative and similar movements belong to both types.

It would be impossible here to follow up these problems in detail. Obviously there may be great difference of opinion upon particular points, and the whole process of governmental interference is subject to manifold difficulties and dangers. Professor Tawney suggests a limit to the extension of governmental activity. " It is drawn at the point where measures to prevent the individual from being crushed by a contingency, when it occurs, become liable to be used as a lazy substitute for the attempt to prevent the contingency from occurring."[1] There is no clear line of demarcation between what may be supplied by collective action and what by individual exertions. In modern times the part supplied by collective effort has been expanding and seems likely to expand further.

Much of this is admirable, but it leaves a little vague the limit to which state-interference with the individual is to go. Nor do I think that this problem can be finally solved on any mere principle of expediency. No doubt there is a limit beyond which state-interference is inexpedient. But in actual, as opposed to ideal, States this limit will be determined by the small number of politicians who are for the moment the depositaries of power. There is more than is now admitted in the idea that what governments do tends to be badly done. The social service State may have finally replaced the *laisser-faire* State. But there is a definite danger that the democracies may begin to model themselves on totalitarian régimes. It is perhaps the most difficult of all the problems of practical politics to arrive at that precise balance between the individual freedom which is necessary for a dignified human life and that guidance by the State which is necessary to rescue modern industrial societies from the chaos of com-

[1] p. 209.

petition. It is not in ultimate analysis a matter to be decided by expediency, because expediency must rest on values deeper than itself. Rulers have decided before now that it was expedient that one man should die for the people. Neither, I think, is liberty a value ultimate enough to support the weight of this " high argument." It is a great value, and the best life is not possible without it. But, like equality, it is valuable not as an end but as a means. All historical experience points to one system upon which alone a just Commonwealth can be built. Unless there are individual, family and group rights independent of the State, it seems impossible to escape from the multiform tyrannies with which modern man is threatened. This is the Catholic philosophy of organised society. In certain crises, rare but nevertheless actual, a man must be justified in confronting the State and standing out against it; and although individuals in such encounters will perish, the spirit of man, following the path of truth and of natural justice, must be thought to be at the last unconquerable.

D. O'Keeffe

CANADA 1641–1941 *

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

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AS this article is being written in 1941, it is convenient to take as a starting point the foundation of the Ursuline Convent in Quebec in 1641 ; but if the Editor defers publication until 1942 symmetry of dates may easily be preserved by starting from the foundation of Montreal in 1642. In the last few years Canada, that is the French and older part of it, has had a plethora of anniversaries to be celebrated. A student would hardly find any history which compresses more picturesque personalities and romantic events in so limited a time as that of New France from the beginning of the seventeenth century until the English conquest in 1759. French-Canadian writers have made the utmost use of their history, for they have piously gathered and preserved and propagated the traditions of their ancestors. A motto loved in the Province of Quebec is " Je me souviens." Defeated on the field of battle by a foreign power and abandoned by the French Kings, the French colonists treasured their past the more that they were uncertain of their future ; and when English immigration began and fears of assimilation were felt, they guarded more jealously their nationality, their language and their religion.

The religious life of New France was one of the best fruits of the seventeenth century Catholic renaissance in France. Samuel Champlain, the Father of New France, was an ambitious explorer and empire-builder, but first and foremost he was a Catholic apostle. Not all the leaders of France at the time were imbued with his ideas of the primacy of the spiritual ; but even as a matter of temporal policy it was decided that, though Huguenot lords might receive concessions of lands in the new country and Huguenot merchants might

* [See " Racial Groups in Canada " by the same author in the issue of September, 1940.—Editor.]

share in the fur trade, the colonists must be Catholics and no religion but Catholicism should be preached to the savages.

Among those actively interested in the Christianizing of Canada, though without visiting the country, were such European figures as St. Vincent de Paul and Jean Jacques Olier. Mystical events, dreams and visions are as frequent in the annals of the pioneers of the Church in New France as they are in the Acts of the Apostles. Rationalist historians may dismiss these accounts of the supernatural with polite incredulity, but there is no questioning the permanent greatness of the work accomplished by the reputed mystics. In the city of Quebec Mère Marie de l'Incarnation has her Ursuline College still standing and flourishing, the fruitful mother of many daughter-houses. In Montreal there could be no more impressive monument of Jeanne Mance than the great Montreal Hospital, which she founded in 1642. The hospital is as old as the Montreal settlement itself, for it began with the building of the fort. The authorities at Quebec unanimously and angrily regarded the venture two hundred miles higher up the river as criminal lunacy, a wicked dispersal of scanty French resources when all were needed at Quebec City for security against the murderous Iroquois. Père Vimont, the Jesuit superior at Montreal, wrote in the " Relation " for 1642 that the enterprise might appear temerarious to those outside, but those with inner knowledge would judge it to have been inspired by Almighty God. The evangelization of the savages, not colonization and still less the fur trade, was the primary object of the Society of Our Lady of Montreal, formed in France, which bought the land of the Island of Montreal and sent out the first settlers under the Sieur de Maisonneuve. Missionary enterprise all through North America was years, and sometimes generations in advance of white colonization. A Protestant American historian, Bancroft, said that not a cape was turned or a river entered but a Jesuit led the way. Critics of this sweeping statement have urged that the *coureurs de bois*, hunting for furs, did as much exploring as the missionaries, and it is true that they travelled as early and as far afield as the missionaries, but they did not compare with the

missionaries in giving reports and leaving records as contributions to geographical knowledge.

We may be apt to think of progress in Canada, and North America generally, as extending gradually from East to West. But years before the foundation of Montreal the Jesuits had their mission stations in North Ontario, far west of Montreal, which they had looped by paddling in canoes northward up the Ottawa River to Lake Nipissing and then down French River to the Georgian Bay. The Georgian Bay country was populated by the very large Huron people, which seemed more responsive than other tribes to missionary efforts. Here was founded in 1639 Fort Ste Marie by St. Isaac Jogues. Six of the eight canonized Jesuit martyrs of North America lived in Fort Ste Marie for longer or shorter periods, and a seventh, St. René Goupil, was on his way there when he was captured by Iroquois and taken to his death.

Fort Ste Marie was for the missionaries and the Indians. There was no thought of white colonization in this part of the continent at that time, but the fort was of high strategic importance which Cardinal Richelieu, who helped to finance its building, certainly appreciated, for this region of the Great Lakes gave access to the heart of the North American Continent. The English settlements at the time were strung along the Atlantic coast and were hemmed in by mountains not yet crossed. French leaders had a vision of securing French control of the whole vast hinterland. A chain of forts at strategic points was constructed with this end in view.

The glorious Jesuit Mission of Huronia was to fail, for the implacable Iroquois crushed the Hurons, and the missionaries who escaped martyrdom conducted the Hurons who escaped massacre to shelter in Quebec. The North American Indians have not shown capacity for survival in contact with civilization; and though the majority of Indians in Canada are Catholic, and it is probable that one of them, Catherine Tekakwitha, will be canonized, it can hardly be claimed that the hopes of the heroic apostles of New France have been realized. The magnificent design of a French Empire in the New World failed. The fault was with France which, absorbed

in European affairs, never gave adequate support to the colony on the St. Lawrence. When Wolfe defeated Montcalm, the French colonists in Canada numbered only 60,000 against two million English colonists in America. The English conquest was a blessing in disguise to the Church, for when in the eighteenth century France became largely infidel, the French-Canadians remained unitedly and devotedly Catholic. Another paradox is that it was the Catholic Church in Quebec that kept Canada under the British flag when the American colonies rebelled against George III. If the population on the banks of the St. Lawrence had been of the same stock and the same religion as those of the Thirteen Colonies, they would have thrown in their lot with the signatories of the Declaration of Independence.

The American Revolution caused the second beginning of Canada, which was virtually the first beginning of English-speaking Canada. When the other North American colonies were British, the settled population of Canada was all in the valley of the St. Lawrence and it was French. Acadia had been depopulated by the tragic expulsions of 1755, and less than 10,000 British settlers were in Nova Scotia. The West was still a wilderness valued only for its fur-bearing animals. As a consequence of the American Revolution some 50,000 refugees came to Canada, United Empire Loyalists who had been on the losing side in the British colonial schism and had paid the penalty by being exiled. The descendants of those who overcame the difficulties of transplantation and pioneering became the native aristocracy of Canada, ultra-British, unsympathetic to the French in Canada, and very hostile to republicanism and other things pertaining to the United States. When war broke out in 1812 between England and the United States, the Americans invaded Upper Canada, expecting to meet no serious resistance, but were thrown back to their own side of the imaginary line.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the total population of Canada, or more correctly British North America, was about a quarter of a million and two-thirds were French. The smallness of the population shows the economic insig-

nificance of the country up to this time. Even at the end of the nineteenth century the population of Canada was only five and a third millions—a twenty-fold increase in the century, but small compared with the rate of emigration from the British Isles and with the huge increase of population in the United States. The great economic progress of Canada has been in the twentieth century. In the decade 1901-11 gross immigration reached the astounding total of 1,800,000, and though the net immigration was not so great, because of numbers going to the United States or returning to Europe, the population of Canada increased by 34 per cent. in the decade.

The chief reason for this enormous expansion was the opening-up of the West for wheat-growing. There was a cessation of immigration during the War 1914-18, but there was an intensification of economic activity. Indeed the war rescued Canada from an economic depression. After the war, from 1921 to 1929, Canada had another remarkable period of growth and prosperity, and then came the unprecedented Depression which was experienced by the whole world but was felt more acutely in Canada because of the contrast between boom conditions that had existed before and which it was easy to believe were normal to a young and undeveloped country. The truth is that certain resources of the country, especially the wheat fields, were greatly over-developed. The most eloquent demonstration of this was given on March 11 last in the Canadian Parliament when, after nearly two years of war, the Minister of Agriculture announced that the Government's objective was to reduce cultivation to 65 per cent. of last year's acreage, because there is not only no market but no storage space for the existing surplus, and therefore the Government will pay farmers four dollars an acre for turning wheatland to summer fallow! Canada needs to be a rich country to be able to pay subsidies for the sealing up of her springs of wealth. Since the Depression Canada has spent thousands of millions of dollars in doles to the unemployed and destitute farmers. Though Canada is called a young country, her economy is advanced and her problems are those of economic maturity rather than of youth.

During the Depression we were tempted to put a large share of the blame for unemployment upon technological improvements, *i.e.*, labour-saving devices. Now that we are at war we are glad of everything that raises our productive capacity, and Canada has been an indispensable tower of industrial strength to Britain during the period when President Roosevelt was gradually weaning the people of the United States from their isolationism. Everyone knows of Canada's resources in foodstuffs and raw materials; there is less realization of the fact that Canada stands very high in the list of manufacturing nations; it is said that she is at present exceeding Great Britain in the production of all kinds of motor transport, including military, and she has the largest plant in the British Empire for the manufacture of automatic guns. She is building aircraft, ships, tanks and munitions of every kind. If the figures convey anything, it may be mentioned that the Department of Munitions in November last had placed orders in Canada for Canadian account of 540 million dollars and for British account of 309 millions, making a total of 849 million dollars.

I am not attempting to give an account of Canada's war effort, but these figures are an index of her economic status. The importance of her economic future is assured. She has the natural resources, the accumulated capital, the enterprising and industrious people, the educational system and provision for scientific research which make for economic greatness. Her problems after the war are likely to be less economic than social and political. The social problems arising from class differences, the weakening of family life and the spread of religious indifference are substantially those with which other countries are familiar in greater or less degree. The political problems are different and peculiar, and may be arranged under three heads: relations between Provinces and Dominion, relations between French and English races in Canada, and relations with the United States.

Of Dominion-Provincial relations there has been a vast amount of discussion. A Royal Commission recently reported

on the subject after some years of inquiries at a cost of $250,000. The differences between the Provinces, on the recommendations of the Commission, are extreme—so extreme that there is a tacit agreement to leave them alone till after the war. Controversial as those questions may be, they are in the last analysis economic, questions of dollars and cents, and therefore amenable to bargaining. The West, the East and the Central Provinces will eventually come to some compromise about taxes and expenditures, because it will not pay to refuse to compromise.

The second political problem, the racial disharmony between French and English, is not so adjustable. It is not worse now than it has been before, and it is perhaps better now than it has often been before, but it is a deep-seated and chronic trouble. The French have very great political power, enough to protect themselves in a negative way, and the English-speaking feel that Quebec is a separate power within Canada, and a negative power which is used to prevent things being done though they may be vitally necessary. For example, Quebec places a veto on conscription in Canada for service overseas. No one can prove at the moment that Canada as a whole would favour conscription, but the feeling is that it is futile to discuss any departure from the unfair and wasteful voluntary system because Quebec would solidly oppose compulsion. This friction between the two races has continued a long time without causing any serious mischief; but new issues would arise if the French were on the point of becoming the majority in the Dominion, which at their present rate of natural increase they might do in the not distant future. No prophecies can be made, for there may be profound changes among the French-Canadians owing to the growing industrialization of the Province of Quebec. In 1871 the population of the Province was four-fifths rural; to-day it is two-thirds urban. It is interesting to observe that in the great city of Montreal there is a demand among French-Canadians for bilingual schools. At present the schools are French unilingual. Economic reasons are pressing the urbanized French to become English-speaking.

The third political problem concerns Canada's relations with the United States. The suggestion may be hazarded that great developments are on the way. The United States has had no territorial ambitions in Canada for a long time, and Canada has had no fear of aggression from that quarter. Tariffs have occasioned irritation from time to time, but nothing dangerous to peace. Despite the tariffs, there has always been a great flow of trade between the two countries. American tourists flock over the border to visit Canada in the summer, and those Canadians who can afford it go to Florida and California in the winter. Most of the periodical literature read by English-speaking Canadians is American, and the Canadian newspapers, dailies and weeklies, are filled with news and features supplied by American agencies. The Canadian radio listener gets more U.S. programmes than Canadian. American students are numerous in Canadian seminaries, and at episcopal consecrations and funerals anywhere near the international boundary there will be members of both Hierarchies attending. Americans and English-speaking Canadians are in many respects to be considered as one people.

During the present war the United States and Canada have set up a common defence system. There is a Permanent Joint Board for Defence, and there is co-operative action for defence by land, sea and air for the north half of the Western Hemisphere. The United States is building up and operating aerodromes in Canada. All this has been accepted as quite natural, and not a murmur of dissent is heard. Another portentious pooling of the interests of the two countries is the deepening of the St. Lawrence waterway to the Great Lakes. In cost and in economic, political and strategic importance this is a project that ranks with the construction of the Panama Canal. It means an inland seaway going 2,200 miles inland, and numerous great cities like Toronto, Chicago and Duluth will become ocean ports. The generation of hydro-electric power is as much a part of the scheme as the extension of navigation, and industries employing millions of people in one country will be dependent on supplies of power from another country.

Canadians have always migrated to the United States as unemotionally as they would move from one Province to another, and Americans have come in large numbers to settle in Canada whenever circumstances of time and place have made the movement economically advantageous. The number of Canadian-born in the United States in 1930 was 1,280,000, of whom 264,361 were French-Canadian. With so much affinity between the two countries it is not gratuitous to wonder why they have remained politically separate. The French-Canadians are in a category by themselves; they have their own nationality, language and way of life, very different from that of other North Americans. The Canadian constitution enables them to protect their separate character as they could not be certain of doing if they belonged to the United States. Already the French-Canadian press is uttering warnings of the dangers of North American Confederation. The French-Canadian authorities have always regarded " Americanization " as the greatest danger to which their people are exposed, and political confederation, they say, would greatly increase the danger. The Quebec Catholic daily said on September 14 last: " Sujet délicat, certes, surquel nous reviendrons. Concluons dès aujourd'hui que l'évolution logique du Canada c'est l'independance complète."

The English-speaking Canadian regards such French thought as an example of wishful thinking. The facts are becoming less and less suggestive of the possibility of complete independence. French-Canadian discussions of North American Confederation have proceeded upon the hypothesis of Britain being defeated and of Canada needing another protector. This is not the hypothesis in the minds of the English-speaking, who are impressed by the signs of growing community of interest between Great Britain and the United States which may make it possible for Canada to combine more closely with the States and yet not be guilty of any disloyalty to Britain. The English-speaking Canadians have very much the same way of life as the Americans. There would be considerable economic advantages to Canada if it had a customs union with its great neighbour. Hitherto the English-speaking

Canadians have been opposed to political union with the States. This has been for reasons of nationality which the French, like the Irish, will be able to understand. But now there are signs of change in the international situation. There are propagandists of Federal Union between the United States and Great Britain. These may be but paper schemes, not corresponding to any great realities of conviction, emotion or interest. But, apart from all propagandists and doctrinaires, there is the plain, large fact of rapprochement between the United States and Great Britain. The bitter and prolonged resistance to that rapprochement which was made by certain elements in the United States only makes its achievement more significant. The rapprochement is surely bound to endure as long as Nazism is a formidable factor in the world. Now if Great Britain and the States are to develop intimate and friendly relations after the war, even though there is no " Federal Union " bridging the Atlantic, Canada must be drawn closer to the States, and one can easily imagine circumstances in which it would be difficult to say why, at least for the English-speaking, there should remain any lines of division. Certainly, if there can be discussion of Federal Union between the United States and Britain, there can be discussion of such union between the United States and Canada as it becomes possible for British Canadians to regard such union not as breaking the links that bind with the Mother Country, but a move towards healing the schism in the British family that was effected by the foundation of the United States of America.

HENRY SOMERVILLE

THE PROBLEM OF GOLD*

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.

IT is only within the last hundred years that gold became the predominant and almost universal monetary metal. In the ancient world, in the middle ages and even in the early part of last century, silver was more important in this respect; but, in recent times, its place has been taken by the more valuable metal. England adopted the gold standard by accident rather than design, and the adoption of gold as the basis of their currencies by France, Germany and the United States established gold as the monetary metal of practically the whole civilised world. In the years before the last war the principal national currencies were defined in terms of the gold content of their monetary units or, to put it in another way, the price of gold was fixed in terms of the different currencies. In the peaceful and progressive pre-war world the international gold standard worked with conspicuous success. Stability of exchange rates was maintained with little conscious effort, and, if fluctuations in the value of gold caused changes in national price levels, these changes were neither so large nor so sudden as to give rise to any practical inconvenience. The end of monetary policy was clearly defined, and the means of putting that policy into practice were generally adequate.

During the first world war the international gold standard was abandoned. In Great Britain convertibility was maintained *de jure* but suspended *de facto*, and the other belligerents made no pretence of linking their ever-growing paper currencies with any metallic base. Gold was everywhere withdrawn from circulation in order that it might be mobilised to pay for imports of food and war materials from the neutral countries. Great rises of prices were experienced in the belligerent coun-

* The statistics in this article are taken from the *Tenth Report of the Bank for International Settlements*. Use has also been made of an article by Professor Findlay Shirras in *The Economic Journal*, June, 1940, of Mr. Geoffrey Crowther's *Outline of Money*, and of *The Economist*.

tries because of the inflation that was taking place in varying degrees, and in the neutral countries because of the increases in their gold reserves. The three years after the war witnessed a boom followed by a slump, in the course of which prices fluctuated with an amplitude unprecedented in history. It is no wonder that the bankers and economists of the time yearned to restore the orderly monetary arrangements of the pre-war world. The restoration of the gold standard, it was believed, would reintroduce stability in exchange rates and would prevent a repetition of those wild inflations which had left such terrible havoc in their trail. Thus the re-establishment of the gold standard became the acknowledged aim of international monetary policy as proclaimed at the Conferences at Brussels and Genoa. It was not realised that the subsequent policy of governments in the non-monetary sphere would render the working of an international standard impossible.

The first practical difficulty in the way of restoring the gold standard was to find the correct parities for the currencies that had suffered different degrees of depreciation. The United States and several other neutrals, for example Holland, Switzerland and Sweden, which had never abandoned the gold standard, acted as fixed stars in the chaotic financial universe. The purchasing power of their currencies, and therefore of gold itself, in 1922 was about two-thirds of its pre-war level, that is to say, the gold price level had risen about fifty per cent. The currencies of the European belligerents had been inflated to a greater or less extent, and the problems of finding suitable and workable parities were full of difficulty. In France the new parity was about one-fifth of the old, and in Germany, Austria and Hungary entirely new currencies were introduced to replace the old ones which had been utterly destroyed. The fixation of the new parities obviously left open a wide field of error, and both under- and over-valuations were in fact experienced. The most important error was made in respect of the pound sterling, which was re-linked to gold in April, 1925, at the pre-war parity of $4{\cdot}86\frac{2}{3}$ dollars. At this level the pound was over-valued and the over-valuation obstinately persisted on account of the rigidity of British

costs and prices, with the result that Great Britain went through a period of deflationary pressure and credit stringency and finally failed to hold the gold tie. However, in spite of all these difficulties, the restoration of monetary order was pursued with perseverance, and by 1929 the gold standard or its variant the gold exchange standard prevailed in practically the whole world, with the exception of China, Spain and Mexico. The Bank for International Settlements, established in 1930, was permitted to deal only in gold currencies. It would appear as though the pre-war monetary system had been restored.

The onset of the depression in 1929 revealed the weaknesses in the economic and financial structure of the world. The growing difficulties of the following years imposed a strain on the newly established monetary system which proved insufferable. In September 1931 the Bank of England was relieved of its obligation to sell gold in exchange for its notes. Thus Great Britain left the gold standard and the pound became an inconvertible paper currency. Australia, New Zealand and many South American countries had previously abandoned gold, and Great Britain was shortly followed by the Scandinavian countries, Greece, Portugal, South Africa and Japan. In April 1933 the American dollar became inconvertible and was relinked to gold at a lower parity in the following year. A group of European nations, of which France was the most important, made heavy sacrifices to remain on gold ; but their effort failed, and by the end of 1936 the international gold standard had ceased to exist.

The conditions of the post-war world, and in particular of the post-slump world, rendered impossible the operation of an international standard. The gradual and moderate fluctuations of nineteenth century prices had given place to violent fluctuations of great amplitude, and the fall of prices in the years 1929-30 called for widespread monetary realignment. Stability of the general price level had come to be regarded as desirable, and such stability was believed not to be attainable under the gold standard. The new parities were in many cases wrong, and the intractability of many prices prevented the appropriate

adjustments from being made. Capital movements inspired by speculation and panic gave rise to chronic disequilibria in balances of payments, which were intensified by international indebtedness, reparations, impediments on trade and the growth of economic nationalism. Central banks were accused of "not playing the gold standard game according to the rules" by refusing to allow gold movements to have their normal effects on prices, but the truth is that the disequilibria were too great to be corrected by the mechanism of the gold flow and pre-war discount rate policy. The gold standard proved impossible to operate when gold movements constituted a one-way traffic. The abandonment of the gold standard eased some of the problems and anxieties of the countries that abandoned it, at the expense, to some extent, of those that retained it. The evils of wide fluctuations in exchange rates were avoided by the creation of new international monetary arrangements. The formation of the so-called sterling area, including nearly the whole of the British Empire, the Scandinavian countries, Portugal and some countries in South America, and the Tripartite Monetary Agreement between Great Britain, the United States and France, with minor adherents, ensured reasonable exchange stability throughout the greater part of the world, in spite of almost universal inconvertibility of currencies into gold. At the outbreak of the second world war the international gold standard, in the old sense, had become a thing of the past.

The general abandonment of the gold standard by the world's leading monetary systems outside the United States has not abolished the monetary importance of gold. All that the departure from the gold standard signifies is that the price of gold in the various currencies has ceased to be fixed by law. Gold continues to be bought and sold at prices which are *de facto* if not *de jure* fixed for considerable periods without variation, and its value in terms of the world's most important currency, the United States dollar, is fixed at the rate of 35 dollars a fine ounce. Gold still remains the principal medium for the settlement of international balances and for the international movement of capital and credit. The metal

is carefully conserved by those countries that possess it and is eagerly desired by those that lack it. In spite of pronouncements made by the exponents of new orders in monetary and economic affairs that the age of gold is past, any supplies of the metal that become available are not despised or rejected. In the years of reconstruction that will follow the war the redistribution of the world's gold will probably play an important part in the restoration of prosperity. Gold may have ceased to be the absolute tyrant of the monetary world, but it has certainly not abdicated or been dethroned. It has become a constitutional monarch.

In recent years, more particularly in the last ten years, three great events have happened in the gold situation. The amount of gold available for monetary uses has rapidly increased, the value of gold has appreciated, and the world's stock of gold has tended to become concentrated in the United States. These three events are related to each other. The increase in the amount of monetary gold is the result of the increase in its value, which has made gold-mining more profitable and has attracted gold from hoarders in India and elsewhere. The increase in its value is the result partly of the raising of the dollar price of gold from 21 dollars to 35 dollars a fine ounce in January, 1934. This appreciation of the dollar price of gold raised the value of existing stocks of the metal as well as that of future supplies. The maintenance of this fixed price for all gold tendered to the United States Treasury was partly responsible, together with other factors, for the growing concentration of gold in America. A few statistics will illustrate the magnitude of those recent changes.

The supply of gold available for monetary uses has a two-fold origin : new production and dishoarding. The production of gold has increased in a remarkable manner in recent years. Expressed in millions of fine ounces, the world's output of gold in 1913 was 22·2. In 1930 it had decreased to 20·9, and it was commonly thought that a gold shortage was in sight. This opinion was endorsed by the Gold Delegation of the League of Nations, whose report, issued in 1930, estimated that the gold output would decline from 1932 onwards and recom-

mended the adoption of devices, such as the gold exchange standard, to economise the available stocks. However, this danger was not realized. In 1931 the output rose to 22·3, in 1932 to 24·3, in 1935 to 27·2, in 1937 to 34·9, in 1939 to 39·2, and in 1940 (estimated) to 40·5. In the years 1921-30 the average annual increase of the world's gold stock was about 1·5 per cent. and, in the years 1931-40, 6 per cent. Such a rate of increase is unprecedented in history.

The explanation of this great expansion in the production of gold is simple. In 1929 the onset of the great depression led to a fall in prices which, when the principal countries were on the gold standard, was equivalent to a rise in the value of gold expressed in terms of other commodities. In 1931 the pound sterling and other currencies were allowed to depreciate in terms of gold. In 1933 the United States dollar was allowed to suffer a similar depreciation, and was given a new and lower gold value in 1934. Each of these events raised the value of gold and therefore rendered gold-mining more profitable. South Africa is by far the largest producer of gold, and the increase of the world output would have been even greater were it not for the system of taxation in that country which ensures that the lower grade ores are mined when the value of gold rises. After the outbreak of war in 1939 the official price of gold rose to 168 shillings per fine ounce, but the mines were paid a maximum price of 150 shillings. This arrangement, which was exceedingly unpopular in the industry, was abandoned in January 1940 in favour of an additional tax of 9 per cent. on the taxable income of the mines. In August this tax was raised to 11 per cent. and in March 1941 to 16 per cent. Apart from South Africa, the principal gold-producing countries are Russia, Canada and the United States. In these and in the countries of smaller output the production of gold has steadily increased. This increase may be expected to continue, though the rate of increase will tend to slacken owing to the exhaustion of the better grade ores in many countries.

In addition to the new production from the mines the monetary gold supply has been increased by dishoarding in the East. In the nine years 1931-9 the value of the exports

of gold from India, China and Hong Kong amounted to 1,697 million dollars, of which India was responsible for 1,424. This gold came from hoards, not from monetary uses, and therefore constituted a net addition to the available monetary gold in the world. This export of gold took place partly as a means of paying for imports during the years of agricultural depression but, to a much larger extent, because of the rise of the value of gold in terms of the rupee, sterling and silver. Indian hoarders were realizing a capital asset that had appreciated. Clearly, dishoarding of this kind cannot continue indefinitely. It is estimated that about one-fifth of the total Indian hoards were exported in the last ten years, but the aggregate value of the amount obtained from this source during the decade did not exceed the gold production of the one year 1939.

The concentration of the world's gold stock in the United States has developed to a remarkable degree. It must be remembered that the increase in the value of the American gold stock in the last ten years has been the result partly of greatly increased imports and partly of the revaluation in 1934, when the dollar price of gold was raised. In the years 1934-9 the value of the United States gold stock increased by 13,600 million dollars, of which 9,700 represented imports of gold from abroad, 2,800 the revaluation profit on the existing gold stock, 200 purchases just prior to revaluation, and 900 domestic production and recovery of coin and scrap. All through the thirties gold flowed into the possession of the United States Treasury from the American mines, from mines abroad, from Oriental hoards and from European Central Banks. During 1939 the average imports of gold each week amounted to 40,000,000 dollars. In July 1940 eighty per cent. of the world's monetary gold was held in the United States, and this figure has since increased. This inflow was caused partly by the existence of a favourable balance of payments on current account but, to a much greater extent, by an inward movement of capital fleeing from the political and financial uncertainties of Europe. In the year 1939, for example, of the net increase in the American gold stock of 3,132 million dollars, no more than 727 was needed to offset the

excess of current exports over current imports. The balance represented a heavy inflow of capital funds seeking the safety of the dollar, together with large shipments of the metal by European owners for safe keeping by being " ear-marked " on their account in the United States. At the end of 1939 gold held under earmark at the Federal Reserve Banks for foreign account amounted to 1,163 million dollars. Gold which had been laboriously mined in South Africa was purchased by the American Treasury and stored in vaults in Kentucky. The metal had been disinterred in Africa only to be reinterred in America. But it must be emphasized that it was not merely the current new production that was being absorbed. In 1939 the imports of gold to the United States were more than double the total production of the year. America was attracting gold from hoards and, what is more important, from the monetary reserves of other countries. European central banks were being depleted of their remaining gold reserves.

The essence of the gold problem to-day is that the gold in the United States is not performing its normal monetary functions. Up to the outbreak of war, at least, gold was being as effectively hoarded in America as it had formerly been in India. The expansion of activity, causing in its turn a rise of prices and the reversal of the inward gold flow, that rendered the gold standard so successful in the nineteenth century has not taken place. The recent inflow has been an entirely one-way movement, completely divorced form the pricing mechanism. Actually, wholesale prices in 1939 were twenty per cent. lower than in 1929. The greatly increased reserves of the banking system have not produced any corresponding business demand for credit. This is, of course, one aspect of the curiously obstinate depression from which the American economic system has been suffering. Many lessons can be learnt from the experience of the United States in recent years. Prosperity has failed to be aroused by changing the external exchange value of the dollar, by saturating the banking system with cash or by lavish expenditure of public money. The conditions necessary to stimulate a demand for credit by private borrowers were not present, and the gigantic

supplies of funds failed, therefore, to find profitable employment.

The failure of the increase in the American gold stock to stimulate a rise of prices and an expansion of activity cannot be better explained than in the following extract from the Tenth Report of the Bank for International Settlements :—

> The fact that debtor countries redeemed a large part of their foreign liabilities, and that, for this and other reasons the United States has received so large a portion of the newly-produced gold as a counterpart to capital movements, would seem to be of importance in explaining the absence of a sustained rise in prices. Unlike earlier foreign investments, *e.g.*, in American railways before 1900, the capital funds transferred to the United States were not sent to finance new industrial or commercial ventures for which the resources of the domestic capital market were insufficient. Foreign funds were, under the prevailing conditions, not used for this or similar purposes. In the years 1934-39, it is generally held, there was only partial employment of the country's capacity for capital accumulation, as is shown by the low level of new investments in plant and equipment. But, if the United States failed to utilise in full its own supply of potentially available savings, either at home or through foreign investment, it follows that it would be even less able to employ additional funds received from abroad. Amounts transmitted by means of gold shipments would thus on the whole remain idle, *i.e.*, fail to be translated into active purchasing power. If that is true with regard to the major part of the gold derived from current production, it must also be true with regard to the $3·1 milliard which came to the United States from the central bank reserves of other countries, for such gold was shipped largely as the result of a flight of capital and is mostly held as bank balances. Gold in itself has no mystical influence on prices ; it is only when the supply brings about an increase in active purchasing power that an effect on the price level can be expected. When account is taken of the nature of the gold flow to the United States, it seems clear that it is the obstacles to a recovery in private investment for housing and other purposes which have, in the main, prevented the inflow of gold from affecting the level of prices.

This brief and somewhat simplified analysis may be contrasted with the experience of previous periods. Before 1914 it was taken for granted that there would normally be an active demand for credit accommodation and that credit institutions would lend to the extent which their resources permitted. Whether gold arrived on account of current or of capital transactions was then of little moment, since it would as a rule all be used to expand the active credit volume. With a

certain time-lag, changes in the supply of gold, the recognised basis of credit, could then be expected to influence prices. The disappearance of active demand for credit, which in recent years has been so characteristic a feature of developments in the United States and many other countries, has temporarily eliminated a link in the chain through which gold influenced prices.

It still remains to be seen to what extent the outbreak of war and the re-armament programme will re-link the inward gold flow to its natural sequence of rising prices and expanding output. It may be assumed that much of the gold that has reached the United States during the war has been for the payment for exports and that the sale of these exports has had a stimulating effect on the American economic system. Exports, however, play a relatively small part in the total volume of American production, and some factor increasing the amount of internal investment is necessary to generate a substantial expansion. Such a factor has probably been supplied by the re-armament programme, which exhibits all the features of a boom : rising employment, shortages of labour and the production of large quantities of capital goods. The Federal Reserve Board, impressed no doubt by the change in the monetary situation caused by the transition from pre-war to war conditions, has asked Congress for new powers to prevent inflation arising from the Defence programme. The Board has requested that the deposit reserve requirements of the banks should be increased, that the currency effects of imports of gold should be neutralised, that the sale of future issues of Government securities should be to the public and not to the banks, and that the Budget should be balanced by gradual increases of taxation. The Government has announced its intention to increase taxation and has established machinery for preventing undue rises of prices. In the circumstances of the war there is no possibility of the inflationary conditions that may develop being followed by the normal sequel of export of gold, since the outside world has little to sell to the United States in return for the ever-expanding exports for which it is clamouring. It may be assumed, therefore, that the inflow of gold will produce no self-reversing reaction and that

the inward movement will continue in spite of the internal expansion which it helps to stimulate.

The growing accumulation of gold in the United States is in no way to be attributed to any special quality, good or bad, in the metal itself. If silver or any other metal or combination of metals had been employed as the means of making international payments, they would all have moved in the same direction as gold has moved. The westward flow of gold has been the inevitable consequence of the lack of balance in international trading and lending, and, if it is to be arrested or reversed, the underlying economic structure must be changed. The gold movement resembles the movement of mercury in a barometer which simply measures the strength of the surrounding pressures. So long as the outside world continues to buy from the United States more goods and services than it sells in return, and so long as European capital seeks refuge, in the form of dollars and earmarked hoards, from the dangers and panics of the old world, so long will gold continue to cross the Atlantic. These considerations are relevant to the distribution of the existing stocks of gold which are used to make payments and to effect capital movements that cannot be made in any other manner. When we pass to consider the problems connected with the supply of new gold, we have to inquire into the relation between the dollar price and the cost of production of the metal.

The principal function of the pricing mechanism in a competitive economic system is to ensure that, in the long run, the prices of articles do not deviate materially from their cost of production. If the market price of any commodity is above the cost of production of the marginal producer the supply increases and, other things being equal, the new market price will be in the neighbourhood of the marginal cost of production. In this way consumers are protected against exploitation and are enabled to participate in the benefits of technical progress which is accompanied by falling costs. This equilibrating mechanism does not apply in the case of gold so long as there is a buyer, as there is to-day, who is willing to purchase unlimited quantities at a fixed price. The present price is

too high in relation to the cost of production in many mines. In the early months of last year the working costs in forty-one South African mines varied from 51s. 1·8d. to 148s. 2d., the median average being 99s. 7·1d. During the same period the London price of gold was 168s. a fine ounce. Since April, 1940, the whole output of the South African mines has been purchased by the Bank of England acting for the Treasury. The mines sell their output to the Reserve Bank for account of the South African Government. The Bank of England takes delivery in South Africa and pays the full London price of 168s., thus saving the South African authorities the cost of shipment. The reason why gold mining shares are not even more attractive than they are is that the South African system of taxation forces the owners of the mines to share their prosperity with the Government. Of the total proceeds of the sale of gold in 1939, 61·3 per cent. represented working costs, 21·6 dividends to shareholders and 13·7 taxation.

The President of the United States possesses the power, within certain limits, to alter the dollar price of gold, and it has been suggested that he should make use of this power to lower the price. Such an alteration would lower the cost incurred by the United States in acting as the custodian of the world's gold. It must be realized that, from the standpoint of the ordinary American citizen, the present policy is very onerous. America receives a stock of barren metal which has to be expensively housed and paid for in good American currency which can be used to purchase American commodities and services. Assuming that the policy of purchasing gold at some fixed price is continued, there is much to be said for having that price as low as possible. At the present day the industrial demand for gold amounts only to about five per cent. of the annual output, and the value of the metal depends almost entirely on the price paid for it in its monetary uses. The value of gold to-day is determined by its dollar price; the value of the dollar is no longer determined by its gold content. This is what is meant by saying, as was said above, that gold has become a constitutional monarch. The disadvantages of such

a devaluation of gold would, however, probably outweigh the advantages. The belief in further changes of a similar kind would generate speculation, dollars would be " bulled " with the result that more and more gold would be sent to the United States, American exporters would be adversely affected by the appreciation of the dollar, and the value of the gold holdings of the United States Government and of many foreign depositors of gold would be reduced. Powerful vested interests would strongly resist any lowering of the price of gold. The gold producers in South Africa, Russia and elsewhere, the fiscal authorities of producing areas, and the owners of existing gold stocks have identical interests in opposing such a proposal. The maintenance of the existing price may therefore be regarded as reasonably certain, a conclusion which is corroborated by the recent request of the Federal Reserve Board that the President's discretion in this matter should be repealed. In this, as in many other matters, the Government of the United States has a responsibility to mankind. Any erroneous step in regard to the gold purchase policy would precipitate chaos in the foreign exchanges and the bullion markets and would add to the difficulties of post-war monetary reconstruction.

While it is true that the actual value of gold at the present day depends mainly upon the policy of the United States, it would be incorrect to conclude that gold possesses no value at all apart from the American monetary demand. On the contrary, gold is one of those commodities for which there has always been and, it may be safely forecast, always will be an insatiable demand. From the earliest times of which we possess historical records there is evidence of the appetite for gold. In the ancient world it possessed an almost mystical significance. It was the symbol for immortality in many primitive religions. Even in the modern world gold is commonly regarded as the ultimate embodiment of real value. Mr. Keynes (*Treatise on Money*, Vol. II, p. 290) says that " the magical qualities with which Egyptian priestcraft anciently imbued the yellow metal it has never altogether lost," Mr. R. H. Mottram (*History of Financial Speculation*, p. 95),

that " gold is the last refuge of the absolute view of wealth ; it is a permanent figment of man's mental background," Professor Morrell (*The Gold Rushes*, p. 3), that " gold is a metal that has had for long ages a peculiar power over the imagination of mankind," and Professor Shirras, that " gold has an extraordinary effect on the human mind and gives confidence as no other thing does " (*Economic Journal*, Vol. 50, p. 209). It would be easy to collect abundant further authority for the existence of this universal desire for gold. So widespread an esteem cannot be dismissed as merely sentimental or irrational ; nor is it likely to diminish or disappear.

The economic systems of the modern world have tended to become increasingly liquid in the sense that capital can more easily be turned into money balances and transferred internationally. Such transfers necessitate the existence of some medium that can perform the same functions internationally that national money performs in the settlement of domestic contracts. Such a medium must possess the attribute of universal demand which, as we have seen, is possessed by gold. It is safe to predict that gold will continue to play an important part in the world's monetary system in the future. Its future role will, no doubt, be different from its role in the past. The circulation of gold coins is not likely to be resumed, in spite of the view put forward by certain American economists that such a step should be taken in the United States. The function of gold will be in the international rather than in the national monetary sphere. Whatever groupings of currencies may emerge in the post-war world, whatever systems of exchange controls may be retained, and whatever clearing arrangements may be devised, there will always remain a number of balances that can be settled only by the movement of some article held in universal esteem. No article conforms to this description so closely as gold, which will, very probably, continue to act the part of " the international precious substance." (*The Economist*, Dec. 7th, 1940, p. 705).

No metal can succeed in acting as the means of adjusting international balances so long as it is all swallowed up in a

single accumulation in one country. At the present time the United States may be regarded as a huge magnet which attracts gold from the mines, from the hoards and from the banks in other countries. In the immediate post-war period the demand for dollars will still further increase. The immediate restoration of exchange freedom would probably lead to an insatiable demand for dollars; such portion of the world's gold as is not already in America at the end of the war would flow there. Looking ahead towards a longer period, it is obvious that no real restoration of world prosperity is possible until a rebirth of political security enables international trade and lending to be resumed. Anything in the nature of universal freedom of trade or of international capital movements is not to be expected; but, assuming confidence that peace can be preserved for an indefinite period, there will be abundant scope for profitable international lending for the purposes of reconstruction. If the United States, by means of sound domestic policy, can generate an internal expansion and, by means of foreign lending and a moderate tariff policy, can stimulate expansions abroad, the American gold holdings may cease to be useless hoards. The cash reserves in the American banking system would act as the basis of active credit instead of idle excess reserves, American industry would demand gigantic imports of raw materials, and foreign depositors would be tempted to withdraw their panic-stricken refugee holdings for more profitable investment elsewhere. The one-way traffic in gold would thus cease and the redistribution of the American gold would begin. It cannot be sufficiently emphasised that such desirable developments entirely depend upon the success of the great powers, and especially the victors in the war, in establishing the confident hope of world peace. The avoidance of war and the maintenance of prosperity are the paramount duties of the great powers. If they fail in these duties, the whole world is doomed to prolonged poverty and fear.

George O'Brien

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

LVIII

A GENEROUS PRINCE

To Mág Shamhradháin, *i.e.*, Niall+1362. Verses 34-38 are to his wife Sadhbh, daughter of Cathal Ó Conchobhair, to Donnchadh (Mac Donnchaidh+1310 ?), and to St. Michael.

uilliam ó huiginn cc

1. Fearṫain Aoine eineaċ Néill
naoiḋe a ḋeigeaċ ar gaċ nduain
mar tá [an] Niallra ór nór gaċ Néill
a iarrma féin for fa ḃuaiḋ.

2. Moċ fa ḃuaine an fonn i ḃfuil
ir gaċ tonn uaine n-a fail ;
an gnár ná an gnaoi do-geiḃ
nar ċeil dṫaoi re n-a fár air.

3. Méadaiḋ a gnaoi go lá an Luain,
a-tá [a] gnaoi ór gnaoi gaċ aoin,
fioltar gan ċeilg nórḃlaḋ Néill,
do mórrun ċléir an ċeirḋ gcaoin.

4. Mac Nualaiḋe do-ḃir ḃú
ḋuanaire i n-a tig a-tá,
giolla bog a Ḃaoill na n-eo
naċ ob gleo ná laoiḋ re lá.

5. Teallaċ neaċaċ gun mín mór
deaṫaċ don tir dá gaċ ṫaoḃ ;
raoirteallaċ neamṫláiṫ na Niall
ciaḃ maoiṫgleannaċ freaṫḃláiṫ raor.

6. Ar dteallaiċne i dtreas gan tlár,
tear gaċa gleannfaiṫge a' gnior,
teallaċ rain ór teinid ṫuar
geinid ċnuar i gcnaiḃ fa ċior.

7. Leaġaiḋ caoṁ Ḋanar an ḋún,
ón ġarad ní caoṁ a [ġcaoṁ]
ra tealluiġ ó do ċoġ Niall
na rġor ndian rearrad raoṁ.

8. Ró brornaġaiḋ arm go náġ
ró ornaḋaiḋ baḋḃ um buar,
do ċomlar an tealluiġ tréan
néall corrġlar reannaċ do ruaḋ.

9. Aoiḃeall ór an tealluiġ ċuar,
ní ṁaoileam a ealluiġ d'fár,
[tiogaḋ] ċiaḃ ngleannaċ a ġríor,
tealluiġ ḃíor um Niall ó Nár.

10. Máġ Sámraḋán do ṁir gnaoi
glanḃranán do ċil gaċ tí ;
a ṁíonlaḃra do ṁeall mé
fearr é [n-a ríogḋamna] ir rí.

11. Séad ra ċruinne ní ċar Niall,
glan a ḃruinne 'r glan a gló,
olc ra ċoin gé ḋeaċ ḋúnn
úr um boin 'r um eaċ 'r um ór.

12. Ar ḃrlaiṫḃile ir rlait gan loċt
[ó] ṁait 'r [ó] aiṫrige d'uic
ní ċreaċ roiNiall neaċ gan nearṫ,
tearc neaċ a ċoiṁrial i gcurr.

13. rlait ḃreag ar ḃuga ór íḃ ḃriuin
gan rear ḃrait ċuga re cléir ;
ar rnoiḋe ḋeagrann dá ḋáiṁ
do ṫáil croiḋe neaṁgann Néill.

14. An dtairgre taċar nó trear,
nó an n-airgre ar gaċ aċaḋ glar,
nó an dtraoṫra goiṁ Néill a-nor
go ḃroil bor gaċ géill n-a glar ?

15. Nó an rguirre a glalla dá ngruaim,
nó an [luigre a ṁana] rna mnáiḃ,
nó an rior cáċ do neaṁṫoil Néill,
nó an gnáṫ dréim re fearṫoin fáil ?

16. Nó an fíor Niall i gcagar cnoct,
nó ag bagur gliad um gac ngort,
nó an bruil gá breic réid n-a react
gan teact fa breit Néill a-noct?

17. Glar a dearc, gealcorcra a gruad,
fearconta a neart, car a ciab,
flait Sionna ar Gaoidealda glór,
giolla mór naoideanda Niall.

18. Suairc a béal ir binn a gut,
nir éar inn mar nar éar neac,
géag borglan ar bladda deoc
ar eoc garda ag cornam creac.

19. Caomha a gruaide ná gac gruad,
'r uaire a taoba ná gac taob,
do cuir mé Niall tar gac Niall
Brian na mBrian é ir Aod na n-Aod.

20. Riogtaoiseac ar leabar lám,
mionchaoiseac ar reamar ruad,
fear racalma neamhcar Niall
leanfar triar catarrda ar cuan.

21. [A dtionnlaic] flat corcra Cua
re mbo molta mac gac mná;
morfár do Niall Niall gan bú,
Brian fa clú ir Tomár mar tá.

22. Calmac um nac fagar fuact
[ó] ballbruit [go mblagar bárc];
deargaid caoin fean-Muige Sléact
fgeamgaire céact re taoib dtrácht.

23. Geall gac moige gun moig mín,
geall gac groige gá groid úir,
geall bó [na] Banba gá buaib,
buaid cró ir arba ar a úir.

24. Mag ar firbinne éan trom,
mag ar minflime féar fann,
mag ar faide an aghaid fionn,
lionn fa tramhaid aige ann.

25. Loċt an ṁoiġe ar naċ foil fraoċ
Gan ṁoir n-a ġoire do ġnáṫ ;
ní fuair fear aonloċt don iaṫ
neaṁ a fiaċ braonġort fa dlúṫ.

26. Gaċ tarud ar a ṁuir ṁóir,
do-ġabar fa ṁuiġ [a] ṁaoin.
ir port fíoġ maġ mar ṁaġ Néill,
fíon ir céir ir crad a ċaoin.

27. Giolla Moige findeirg finn
i ngaċ doire ar díbeirg dtruim
tug toirrre Dia fir an droing
fia fa ċoill an ċloinnre Cuinn.

28. Fuair ar eaċtra áireaṁ fíoġ
nír cáinead ó Earca aġ ól,
aṫair tearda mar tá ar Niall
lá na ngliad ní cnearda a clód.

29. N-a tír féin gá bruil ré
tar gaċ gcéim do ċuir a ġnaoi ;
fearr ar bróġra Niall um ní
ná fí fial ir fódla faoi.

30. A-tá [a] oireaċt roin ar ród
ar dtoiġeaċt a-noir le Niall,
feadna aġ tóraideaċt re ṫaod,
móraireaċt raor fearda fial.

31. Giolla mindearg ċaiṫear cród
gaċ díbearg maiṫear fa mod ;
giolla raor ġeimealtrom ġeal
dá mbean m'aor einealann d'fíor.

32. Giolla bláiṫ eaċaṁail úr
aġ creaċfaġail ċáiċ nír clód ;
fear conċar neaṁċrannda Niall,
tromċar a fian, leaṫġallda a lón.

33. Máġ Samradáin cian ó ċoi
gallbanfáid tre Niall gan neaṁ ;
airm n-a gcléiṫ ar comlaid tor,
rséit mun gcrod an formnaid fear. Fear

34. Eineaċ Saiṫḃe na fúl ngoṗm
níṗ ġṗáḋaiġ beaṅ gá mbí a ṗí ;
ġéiṗ Ḋáinlinne ḋo ġuiḋ ġnaoi,
ní fuil ṁnaoi aṗ cṗáiḃḋiġe i gcli.

35. Ó Ḃṗiain Luiġneaċ na lann ngéaṗ
níṗ ġéin coiṁfiaḋ ċṗaoiḃe Sainḋ ;
ġeaṗṗ linne ġaċ lá fa cuiṗm
fa ṁuiṗn a-tá finne aġ Saiṫḃ.

36. Inġean Í Ċonċuḃaiṗ Ċliaċ
ċṗeiḋeaṗ Ḋia ṗeṗ ḋealḃaḋ neaṁ
ġuṗ faoi Niall [na n]ġeallám ngian
leannán na mban ḃfial an feaṗ. Feaṗ

37. Feaṗaiḋ fuil aṗ faiṫċe [nuaḋ]
ṗe haṁ Ḋonnċaiḋ aṗ ḋeaṗġ béal
fian cnioċt ṗe toċuṗ aġ tnúḋ ;
úṗ fa niṗṫ foċun ir féaṗ. Feaṗ

38. M'anum an eineaċ a ṗġéiṫ
ṗġiaṫ Miċéal ḃu móiḋe neaṁ ;
ṗuġ ṫaṗ ġaċ naoṁ céim ó ċíon ;
cioḋ um naċ faoṗ féin ġaċ feaṗ ?
Feaṗ

Translation

1. A Friday's rain is Niall's hospitality, he gives a fresh horse for every poem ; as he surpasses every other Niall in glory, so shall his descendants be for ever blessed.

2. Soon it grew strong, the land where he is, and every green field around him ; the glory and grace he enjoys was told of by druid 'ere it came.

3. His glory will last till Doomsday and is beyond that of all men ; Niall's constant renown is proclaimed—and truly ; he extolls poets for fair workmanship.

4. There is a song-book in the house of Nualaidh's son, giver of kine, this generous hero from the salmon-rich Baoill, who never refused to give fight or to take a poem.

5. Teallach nEachach belongs to this great gentle hero ; smoke (of cooking) rises from every part of this land, noble formidable home of the Nialls of soft-tressed fair-arranged noble locks.

6. Our " Hearth " so stern in fight is a hearth with fire ever beneath it, its blaze means heat in all its furrowed fields ; it produces crops of fruit for tribute.

7. This fort melts in its blaze the mass of the Danair—their compact mass soon ceases to be one on the Hearth since it has chosen (as ruler) Niall so fond of strong spirited colts.

8. There is much urging of men's weapons to the slaughter, much screaming of ravens over carrion ; the strong hearth is set aglow, and a thick blue spurting cloud above it has grown red.

9. A flame is ever blazing over that hearth—one can scarce see how its kine can thrive !—the hearth where dwells Niall of Nás, yet its heat means the thickening of their shaggy hair !

10. Ambitious Mág Shamhradháin is a noble chess-king who rules every square (of his land) ; his gentle speech has ever charmed me ; he excelled as a young prince and now excels as king.

11. Niall loves not earthly treasure, noble his breast, noble his speech ; though touchy with us about his hound, he is generous with kine and horse and gold.

12. Our princely tree is a faultless prince in his goodness and sorrow for sin ; great Niall raids no weak foe ; rare his peer in generosity.

13. This Prince of the Breagha, without needing any man to remind him (?), excells in generosity to poets all the Í Bhriuin ; when poets fashion good verses, Niall's generous heart overflows.

14. Will he now seek battle and fighting ? Will he go plundering every green land ? Or will Niall's fierceness now abate by his having put every hostage's hand in his chains ?

15. Or will he relieve his hostages from their misery ? Will his love of ladies abate ? Can any prince be (regarded as) as lawful if Niall oppose him (?). Or is the struggle to be constant against this Wolf of Fál ?

16. Is he the real Niall when he parleys with (?) the (English) knights, or when he threatens to raid every land ? Can his calm face permit that submission be refused to him ?

17. Blue is his eye, bright purple his cheek, wolf-like his energy, curly his hair—this Niall, Prince of the Sionann, this great hero, fluent of speech and simple as child.

18. Pleasant-spoken are his lips, sweet his voice ; he never refused us—or anyone else—his gifts, this bright-handed hero, the sight of whom riding on spirited horse and defending his *creachs* is as a sweet draught to drink.

19. Fairer his cheeks than any cheek, more vigorous his limbs than any limb ; I place Niall above every Niall ; Brian among Brians is he, Aodh among Aodhs.

20. This royal long-armed captain with smooth lances stout and blood-stained, this Niall so gallant and straight who will imitate the Three Warriors, even going forth on the sea.

21. The gifts bestowed by this purple Lance of Cua would win praise for any woman's son ; Niall, when he has given away his cattle is more Niall than ever ; even Brian and Tómás fall short of his glory.

22. Valiant warrior, he heats all things around him so that even a ship is broken up by the fire from his limbs ; he reddens (by ploughing) the surface of old Magh Sléacht, and the creaking of his ploughs is heard along the shore.

23. This smooth plain is better than any other plain, its fresh horses than any other horses, its kine surpass all the kine of Banbha, cattle and corn excell on its land.

24. 'Tis a plain where the well-fed bird sings most sweetly, a plain most smooth with waving grass, a plain where the ox-tongue plant grows tallest, and where there is ever water in Summer-time.

25. The only fault of that plain so free from wild-heather is that the sea comes not near it ; no man ever found fault with it ; a very Heaven for its ravens is that soft ever-blooming land.

26. Every fruit grows on its great sea-smooth surface ; his wealth is gathered from that plain ; a royal land is a plain like Niall's plain, its surface being wine and wax and kine.

27. The men of wine-red Magh Fionn are to be found in the woods plundering harmfully ; but God has put trouble in the way of that folk, (for) too deep (to be attacked) in the forest are this race of Conn.

28. Earc's scion wins kingly glory on foray and hears no word of blame (even) at drinking-time; as Niall has now been tested for long, he is not likely to meet defeat on battle-day.

29. In his own land where he abides he has won highest honour; to have Niall proclaimed gives us better hope of wealth than to have a generous king with all Fódla beneath him.

30. Coming back westward (from foray) his nobles with Niall are full of joy, those proud manly generous nobles who go on raid with him.

31. The gentle ruddy-faced lavish prince forgives all offences at mead-banquet, this bright noble prince whose gyves are heavy, and for whose sake my satire exacts honour-price from any man.

32. This bright hero, sprited as steed, is never turned back on foray; a hero who loves his hounds is this ever-vigorous Niall; heavy-tramping is his troop; much foreign food is in his commissariat.

33. Niall Mág Shamhradháin keeps far from sin; when Niall is there (with army) the seeress of the Goill gets no (sign of coming victory from) Heaven! Swords form a fence round his castles' portals, shields on men's shoulders guard his kine.

34. No lady with her lord beside her ever loved to practise hospitality like Sadhbh's; this Swan of Báinlinn ever seeks to win good will; no woman lives more pious.

35. Never was born a peer of this Branch of Sanbh, this descendant of Brian Luighneach; each day at her ale-feast seems short to us; we enjoy Sadhbh's favour.

36. This daughter of Ó Conchobhair from Cliu trusted in God, Creator of Heaven, and espoused bright-armed Niall; he had been the darling of all noble ladies.

37. The blood of the battle-eager knights is shed on the battle sward by red-lipped Donnchadh's sword; corn and grass grow richly 'neath his sway.

38. I entrust my soul to the protection of Michael's shield—it fills Heaven (with souls); he can—better than any saint—keep folks' steps away from sin; why does he not save even the whole world?

NOTES

Mag. MS. p. 19.

At the top of poem is William o huiginn da finnu in laiġ fea.

1*a*. *cf.* ir olc í an Aoine faoi n-a tiomaḋ, proverb quoted An Sgaiḋ 1940, i. p 6. *b*. deiḋ. *c*. an *abest*. 2*a*. a buil *b*. ail *c*. ar gn. na in gn. *d*. *leg*. nír? 3*b*. a *abest*. *d*. éigin gaim 4*b*. a ḋu. 5*b*. daen cin dae g. *c*. mae niall *d*. máoi. 6*b*. -ḟáiḋi *d*. ciaer 7*a*. an (dot on n) *b*. ċaer *c*. oo do. *d*. -finog 8*a*. -ḋaḋ; ċaḋ *b*. corṅaḋaḋ 9*a*. ibeall or a t. *c*. ciaġaḋ; ċiaḃ (*c* illeg.); gnir 10*a*. mac ċaṁraġain *d*. illeg.; nig 12*a*. ar fl. (?) *b*. a mać ir aṁġi ḋuic *d*. a cu. 13*a* i bru. *c*. deaḋ. dae ḋaiṁ 14*a*. -fea. *b*. omit ar? ; aċcaḋ *c*. in cr. *d*. buil 15*a*. -fea in gilla da gnuaiṁ *b*. laiḋfea a finda *d*. gna; ri fea.; *leg*. bfail? 16*a*. a ca. *b*. go. *c*. buil; neig 17*c*. gaeḋgealta *d*. naigeanta 18*d*. eaċ ga. 19*a*. caimi a gnuaga *b*. raimi a ċaeb na 20*b*. r. ḋruaḋ *d*. leanar; the Three Kings often referred to 21*a*. o tilaic; co. cr. *b*. re bo mo. 22*b*. a ḃalḃruiṫ gamblaḋaḋ mḃ. *c*. o. a ċain *d*. cr. 23. a. min 24*a*. mḃinoi *b*. mi. *c*. ara; fa. an aḋṁaḋ ri. o. tam. 25*a*. a mo.; buil *b*. ḋa gn. *c*. daemaḋ 26*a*. cor. *b*. a *abest*. 27*a*. gi. in mo. *b*. oo.; oiḃ. cim (u over c) *d*. re fa ċ. on cl. cu. Meaning of stanza uncertain. 28*a*. aiṁm *b*. –niḋ o ċeasca *c*. aċaiṫ 29*a*. gan fuil *b*. fear tar; ceim *c*. fo. o. nig; foclla fui 30*a*. a *abest*.; rin *b*. coiḋeċtnoiṁ *c*. feġain *d*. feannda 31*a*. ċaċar *b*. maċar *d*. maer 32*a*. blaċ *b*. caiċ *c*. -nota *d*. cromċra 33*a*. ċamraġan *c*. cl. *d*. cr. 34*d*. mnai; craiṫiḋi 35*a*. *leg*. luigniġ? *c*. leinoi (dot on e) *d*. muinnin 36*c*.; fa ġealla (?) glan (?) *d*. man fial in fear 37*a*. naiḋ (?), n-áiġ would be unmetrical; faiṫċe generally fem., but perhaps also masc. ? or *leg*. uaḋ?

THE MYSTERY OF JEWISH SURVIVAL

BY CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS

NATURALLY enough many people are talking these days about the Jewish problem, and it is very surprising that curiosity which is so widespread and so necessary should at the same time be so superficial. The vast majority is content to say that it cannot see that the Jews are very different from other people—which is obviously foolish—or else that it likes or dislikes Jews, as the case may be—which is comparatively irrelevant—or else that Jews are different from other people and must be treated differently—a doctrine which, if it is true, manifestly imposes an obligation of very careful diagnosis why they are different and what is the appropriate treatment—an obligation which is not commonly fulfilled. Others are content to note some comparatively superficial trait, such as that Jews are middlemen, that they tend either to be capitalists or revolutionaries, that they are reluctant to work on the land or with their hands. Such observations are doubtless largely true; but, if the Jews are as they are in these respects, these characteristics are but the natural result of the peculiar life by which for centuries they have had to live in societies of which they were never fully members. But why the Jews were treated in such a way and why they preserved their individuality under such treatment are questions that are less frequently asked.

It is indeed strange that people do not more frequently ask the question why there are Jews at all. History has plenty of examples of subject or conquered races; but the general experience is that, after some generations of discrimination, the conqueror and the conquered gradually mix their blood to form a new mongrel race. For some generations after William the Conqueror's invasion of England the Normans ruled as masters over their Saxon servants; but, as the generations passed, the distinction between the two races became blurred and a new nation emerged, the vast

majority of whose members were neither wholly Norman nor wholly Saxon in blood. History has a thousand parallels to this process and but few exceptions. It is true that, where (as in the southern states of the United States) the races differ from one another so radically that there is real repugnance to intermarriage, the process of fusion takes longer. But even then it does gradually happen. Few doubt that there is to-day much more black blood in the veins of white southern families than it is the fashion to confess, or that in another two or three hundred years, if the Southern life has continued undisturbed from without, a new and mongrel race will have been produced to live it.

Therefore, what analogy would lead us to expect of the Jews was that, when early in their history they suffered captivity in a foreign land, they would there have intermingled with their captives and suffered extinction as a separate race. This was the more likely because, if we go back to the Old Testament, there was no radical racial gulf between the Jews and their neighbours. The archaeological evidence—as collected, for instance, by Dr. Langdon in his *Semitic Mythology*—seems to have proved that Abraham was a sheikh of the Habiru, or Hebrew, race which at that time inhabited all Asia from Babylon to the Red Sea and which had placed its members, the princes of the Hyksos dynasty, upon the throne of Egypt. All the nations with whom the Jews had any contact throughout their early history were therefore their kinsmen.

It may be pleaded that their religious vocation nevertheless caused the Jews to segregate themselves from their neighbours and to form themselves into a pure race. But in fact, of course, their early history is filled with stories of religious backsliding, the consequence of which must certainly have been a considerable importation of non-Jewish blood. Nor indeed did the Jewish leaders of their early history betray any consciousness that it was even important to keep Gentile blood out of Jewish veins. Moses took to himself a Cushite wife, who seems to have been a negress. Samson had no repugnance to the daughters of the Philistines. David was

the descendant of the Gentile, Ruth. Solomon drew his wives impartially from wherever he could find them.

If, then, we look at the problem purely as a natural problem, it is on the whole surprising that the Jews preserved their identity even throughout the period of bondage in Egypt, and after their establishment in Palestine there was little reason to imagine that they would survive were the calamity of another captivity to fall on them. Nor, it is important to understand, did they as a whole survive. In 722 B.C. the Assyrians swept down and took the ten tribes of Israel captive. With that captivity those tribes disappear from history. Fantastic theories have been evolved concerning the fate of the Ten Lost Tribes, but of course beyond question they merely mixed their blood with that of their Assyrian conquerors and lost their identity. The Kingdom of Judah, however, which consisted of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, was spared from the Assyrian captivity of 722, but suffered in its turn a Babylonian captivity in 586. But it survived it.

It is the disappearance of Israel, combined with the survival of Judah, which provides the real problem of Jewish history. It is hard to see, on any purely secularist theory, what can explain the survival of the Jews at all; and it is still stranger to find that the two tribes that did survive were the tribes whose survival was specifically prophesied by Jacob in a prophesy which archaeological evidence, quite apart from any invocation of the authority of the Church, has now shown to have been written down long before the Assyrian captivity.

The religious record of the Kingdom of Judah had been a very much more edifying one than that of the Kingdom of Israel. Yet a sound principle of economy bids us ask what purely natural causes may have operated to strengthen Judah's consciousness of Judaism in the 136 years between those two captivities. Those years had seen the teaching of the great Messianic prophets, of whom Isaiah and Micah were the chief. The Jews had been taught, with a clearness denied to their ancestors, that theirs was not merely in some vague and general sense the chosen race but it was to be the race of Messiah and therefore, if they only remained steadfast, deliverance

would at last come to them whether in this world or the next. Even those who question the truth of their belief cannot doubt that it was owing to their belief that the Jews survived the Babylonian captivity.

The years after the return from Babylon saw, however, the development of a second potent cause of survival—the development of the Law, or Torah. In these years the scribes built up, out of the comparatively simple hygienic and religious rules which Moses had laid down, an elaborate code which dictated every action of the day. So long as the Jews remained obedient to that code, their survival as Jews was assured; for a form of life was imposed upon them in which any considerable contact with the Gentile world was impossible. That very impossibility, of course, caused a reaction against the Law's rigidities. Jewish history after the return from Babylon was very different from that of the years before the Assyrian conquests. Palestine did not become again a small independent state, save for a short period under the Maccabees. It was instead a politically insignificant part of the great world empires, first of Persia, then of Macedon, of Egypt, Syria, and lastly of Rome. At the same time the Jews multiplied greatly and quite overflowed the boundaries of little Palestine. It has been estimated that by the time of Our Lord there were about four million Jews in the world, of whom only one million lived in Palestine—the other three million living mostly in Egypt, Syria and other neighbouring countries. We have Cicero's word for it that in Rome they were sufficiently numerous to influence elections. Not only did the Jews increase in numbers themselves, but also during these years the Messianic hope won for them a steady stream of proselytes, who embraced the Jewish religion, though they were not Jewish by race. The proselyte must never be forgotten when people speak of the Jews merely as a race.

It was only to be expected that this contact with a cosmopolitan world should arouse a deep controversy within Judaism. There were those who wished to minimise the differences between the Jew and his neighbour, either because they were

not deeply religious or alternatively because, they argued, the world was sick for the gospel of Messianic hope, and the details of the Law, in themselves for the most part ethically indifferent, were an obstacle to the spread of this comfort. On the other hand, there were those, the Pharisees, who saw a grave danger in the contacts of a Hellenistic and pagan society. Far from agreeing that the demands of the Law should be modified, they added to those demands further interpretations, the intention of which was to make the burden yet more onerous and thus to make impossible all contacts between the Jew and Gentile world. Our Lord came into a Jewish world divided by this controversy.

After the destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian and Titus in 70 A.D. the Temple was no more, and the Pharisees redoubled their cry that the only hope of Jewish survival lay in obedience to the Law. An ever greater rigour of the letter was pursued. The Torah was elaborated into the Mishnah, the Mishnah into the Gemara. The two together formed the Talmud. The Jewish religion, as it thus developed throughout the early years of our era, became exactly the opposite of the Catholic religion—at any rate in one most important respect. The Catholic's was primarily a faith ; his first word was " Credo," and the details of customary ritual by which he bore witness to his faith were of secondary importance. To the Jew it was the ritual that was primary and, so long as the Law was observed, an entire freedom of metaphysical speculation concerning problems of freewill, future life, and so on was permitted. It is often a puzzle to the Christian reader to find that in the New Testament there can have been a complete difference between the two great parties of the Sadducees and the Pharisees on so important a matter as that of a resurrection. But so it was.

There was, it is true, theoretically another possibility open to Judaism besides that of the multiplied rigour. That was to go out, as it had done in the previous generations, and make its bid to conquer the Roman world as an ethical religion, holding out the comfort of the Messianic hope. It was prevented from success in this by the missionary competition

of Christianity. Those who looked for a Messiah, preferred the promise that He had come to the vague hope that He was to come. The Gentile, who had no Jewish background behind him, could be impressed by the solid evidence of Our Lord's life and Resurrection, and the strength of the Christian case captured those who in a previous age might have been ready to become proselytes to Judaism.

Nevertheless, in the years after the Incarnation as in the years before, by no means all Jews were willing to accept this obligation to multiply their peculiarities. If we take the evidence of the catacombs we find that in the oldest catacomb, that of Monteverde, the inscriptions are all still in Hebrew and the symbols traditional—the palm branch, citron, candelabra, oil-lamp. In the Vigna Randanini catacomb of a few generations later most of the inscriptions are in Latin, and among the symbols are to be found cupids and a winged Pegasus. An inscription has been found, *Benus, filia rabbetis Abundanti.* Apparently even a Rabbi could be found ready to name his daughter Venus.

As is known, it was the Roman policy to absorb all the Oriental religions into a grand syncresis. "Jam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes," complained Juvenal. The evidence of a few inscriptions is not sufficient to justify a confident generalisation. Yet there seems every probability that, though Judaism was proving a more obstinate obstacle than other Oriental faiths, yet gradually the Pharisees were losing the battle and Jews were tending more and more to shed their peculiarities and to conform to the general Roman ways. Certainly in tolerant Egypt, while there were a million Jews in the time of Philo, three centuries later the distinctive community had almost died out.

The adoption of Christianity by the Empire in the fourth century created an entirely new situation. The Roman pagan state asked of the Jew no formal denial. It wanted only a general conformity to Roman ways, the Emperor's incense, and disinterested itself in details of theological faith. Like its magistrate Gallio, it "cared for none of these things." But the Christian demanded of the Jew a definite abjuration of

what had hitherto been to him a central article of faith—a definite abjuration of his belief that Jesus was not the Messiah. One could, like St. Paul, be both a Roman and a Jew. One could not in religion be both a Christian and a Jew. Therefore it is not surprising to find that, with the fourth century, the evidence of the inscriptions shows reversion by the Jews from Latin to Hebrew. Doubtless there were Jews who followed the stream of the times and accepted Christianity. But those who rejected it returned more defiantly to their Judaism. And when a few centuries later Mahommedanism rose up as Christianity's enemy, the Jews at first welcomed it as an ally, but soon found in it, in the shape of the Seljuk Turk in Asia or the Almohadan in North Africa, an enemy as defiant as the Church herself.

Nevertheless, though disliked by both Christian and Mahommedan, the Jew performed an essential function as an intermediary between them. The Christians and the Mahommedans were as intolerant towards one another as they were both intolerant towards the Jew. Yet their cultures derived from common origins in Greece and Asia. They had to find a means of communication with one another, if they were to survive, and that means they found in the Jew. It was the wandering Jew who carried from Greece to Arabia the knowledge of Aristotle and mathematics, medicine and the early science, and then brought it back again from Arabia to Europe. When Charlemagne sent an embassy to Haroun-al-Raschid, it was Isaac the Jew who was selected as a guide to the party. The Radanites (from the Persian *rah dan*, knowers of the way) were in the ninth century an organised Jewish guild of caravaners who carried goods from West to East, from France in the West to China in the East. They had their headquarters at Rhaga, near Teheran. In the tenth century, it is true, they lost their great function with the coming of the Tartars, who stopped all commerce in the East, and with the rise of Venice, who wished to keep such commerce in her own hands in the West. The Venetians refused to take any Jewish passengers on their boats in 964 and any Jewish merchandise in 992;

and the Jews, with their occupation gone, found their unpopularity increased.

They had, however, by then discovered for themselves another usefulness. As society developed, the demand for credit grew, and the Jew—more ready than the Christian, for all Moses' ordinances, to waive his prejudice against usury—therefore performed an essential function as a money-lender. This function brought him no popularity and it brought him periodical expulsion from various countries; but it was, as a general rule, to the interest of his hosts to give him a reasonable security of life and tenure, if only because not to do so was to raise "the rate of usance here with us in Venice." As the Doge very well saw, if Shylock did not have the security of justice, then he could only lend at a very much higher rate of interest.

So throughout the Christian era there have been, it must be recognised, two complementary causes of Jewish survival. They have survived because of the strange persistency of their own faith. But they have survived also because the Christians would not let them die. Just as the Jew cannot live without the Christian, so, too, the Christian cannot live without the Jew. In theory it has always been the Christian contention that he asked nothing of the Jew except conversion. Christianity knew no distinction of race, it was said; and, if the Jew became a Christian, then he must be accepted as the equal of all other Christians. In Italy, the most tolerant of all Christian lands in the Middle Ages, there was real obedience to this theory. To the medieval Jew it appeared a sort of holy land—I-tal-yah, 'the land of the Lord's dew,' he called it. But the consequence was that, by the end of the Middle Ages, the Jews in Italy had almost died out—through conversion and absorption into the population.

Far different was the history of the Jews in Spain. There under the tolerant and sceptical Moors they were well treated and, as in Italy, were as a consequence dying out. The Christian kings came in the thirteenth century and at once imposed upon them a policy of segregation. Once again the result was to drive some into yet more minute appreciations

of ritual (so as to distinguish themselves yet more sharply from the society around them) and to tempt others to escape from their distinctiveness by adoption of the Christian faith. But in Spain, unlike Italy or the world of the Early Church, the Christians would no longer allow the Jew to escape from his Jewry merely by abjuring it. The Jew, in mediaeval Spain, was still treated by the Christian as a creature very different from himself even after he had become converted. The "new Christians," as the converted Jews were called, were still compelled to live apart from the "old Christians" and to marry generally among themselves. As late as 1473 they were the victims of massacre at Cordova. It was therefore not surprising that, when in 1492 they were offered the alternative of leaving the country or accepting Christianity, the majority preferred banishment; for, as Antonio de Moreno truly remarked, even conversion was no guarantee against persecution. From Spain the greater number went into Portugal, where five years later they were denied even the choice between baptism and expulsion, but were submitted instead to a compulsory baptism. Thenceforward, for four hundred years, there was no permitted synagogue in the Iberian Peninsula.

Of course such a policy set up a vicious circle. Conversion thus brought about could hardly be sincere. It was not believed to be sincere. The "new Christians" were not trusted by the "old Christians" and, not being trusted, they remained not trustworthy. The "old Christians" called them marranos, or swine; and they for their part, not allowed to become full members of the society around them, did all that they could to preserve in secret their own rites and to ridicule those of the official creed. The Inquisition in vain attempted to cope with a situation that it had itself very largely created. The truth about the exact practices of these people is difficult to come by, because all evidence was taken either under torture or at least with the threat of torture always lurking present. And, as Portia very truly saw, once torture is introduced there is no possibility of obtaining any trustworthy evidence:—

> "Ay, but methinks you speak upon the rack,
> Where men enforcèd do speak anything."

But the general truth seems to be that both their Jewish practices and the treatment of them as Jews by their neighbours long survived their nominal conversion, but that nevertheless very gradually and over the generations they did as a rule tend to assimilate themselves with the society around them. There was, however, always a chance that a vigorous personality would revive the flame of crypto-Judaism or that it might survive in isolated pockets of territory. Thus in 1619 it was discovered that a secret synagogue still survived among the professors of Coimbra University. More remarkable still was the discovery made by Samuel Schwarza, a Polish-Jewish engineer, in his *Christaos Novos em Portugal no seculo XX* of a crypto-Jewish community still surviving in Northern Portugal in the year 1917, relict of the mediaeval conversion.

Similarly the converted Jews on the island of Majorca, though baptised now for four hundred years, live to this day an entirely segregated life and are known by their neighbours as Chuetas (swine) or Individuos de la Calle (children of the ghetto). Readers of Ibanez' novel, *The Dead Command*, will remember the picture of them. It is natural enough that the victims of such treatment, where they play a part in politics, should generally be found on the subversive and anti-clerical side. That this has been so in Catholic countries is generally known. It is not so commonly understood how common it has been to find the same phenomenon of forcible conversion, followed still by discriminatory treatment, in Mahommedan countries. But the story of the Daggatun in the Sahara, the Dönmeh in Turkey, the Jeddidini in Persia, the G'Did-al-Islam in Khorassan and the Tschola in Bokhara is essentially the same as that of the Chuetas in Majorca. It is not without its significance and should be more widely understood that Mustapha Kemal, the Turkish dictator, was of the Dönmeh. In the light of this his campaign against the Caliphate is more easy to understand.

The French Revolution and its doctrines of religious tolerance introduced yet a new relation between Jew and Gentile. The cosmopolitan opportunities of the industrial and the new financial system brought indeed an opportunity of

enormous wealth to a few Jewish families, such as, for instance, the Rothschilds, and in some circles these few fortunes caused so much gossip that one might almost imagine that all Jews were millionaire bankers. To the majority of Jews the nineteenth century was rather a period when they were allowed to take an ordinary place in the life of their various countries with a freedom hitherto unknown in their history. It was also a period, both among the Jew and the Gentile, of growing religious scepticism. Now it was quite impossible to preserve the full rigour of the Jewish Law while living the life of an ordinary business citizen of a nineteenth century Christian country. Indeed the Law had been deliberately designed to make it impossible. Therefore it was not surprising that a large number of Jews took advantage of scepticism and tolerance to repudiate the burden of the Law. They did not, with few exceptions, accept baptism as the medieval Jew had accepted it, under compulsion. They merely drifted into scepticism, which they were able to do because, for the first time since the days of the Roman Empire, they found themselves in a society where a large proportion of the Gentiles also were declared sceptics.

Even in the nineteenth century, as we know, people were still called Jews after they had ceased to practise the Jewish religion. Though the general and growing rule was one of tolerance, there still lurked in every country, as Dreyfus proved in France before Hitler discovered it in Germany, the possibility of making a scapegoat of the Jew in an hour of national defeat. Nevertheless, though there was repugnance to it on both sides, intermarriage between Jew and Gentile was becoming steadily more common, and by the run of the century it was calculated that of the sixteen million Jews in the world only about a quarter were strict observers of the Law.

To those of that day who, as most of us did, looked confidently forward to an era of freedom slowly broadening down from precedent to precedent it seemed reasonable to prophesy that, under a régime of universal tolerance, the Jew as an altogether peculiar person would die out. There was added reason to expect this as European aristocratic family after

aristocratic family recouped its diminished fortunes by a Jewish marriage and as the German Jews, both in their own country and in America, popularised a form of liberal Judaism, the prime purpose of which was to differentiate the German from the Russian Jew. In America, it is true, where the ruling families were rich enough to pay their own way, the marriage-influence did not apply and, as a result, there is an overt social discrimination against the Jew in the United States which would be unthinkable in any Western European country. Few can doubt that a great national calamity in America would be followed by a gigantic explosion of anti-semitism. But fortunately there seems no probability of such a calamity.

But the unfortunate exception to this general rule of tolerance was Czarist Russia. The steady and savage anti-semitism of Czarist policy had a double effect. First, it drove the Jews who remained in Russia into revolution. Those who retained their religion became Mensheviks. Some of those who rejected it became Bolsheviks, for the Bolshevik theory is, of course, as radically opposed to the Jewish as to the Christian or any other religion. Second, it drove a steady stream of Russian Jews into exile, and it was these Jews who fanned the dying flame of anti-semitism in the western countries and in particular in Germany. For anti-semitism is always more easily aroused by the newly arrived Jew than by the established resident who has adjusted himself to the habits of the country.

The German Jew in the nineteenth century, being German as well as Jew, had been outstanding among Jews in his anxiety to identify himself in every way with the country of his residence. The record of German Jews in the last war was a particularly gallant one, and—a fact less creditable but as significant—it was a Jew, Ernst Lissauer, who wrote the Hymn of Hate. The Nazi libel that the Jews were responsible for the nation's surrender in 1918 is, then, a particularly scurrilous one. The Jews who really aroused the antagonism in Germany were the non-German Jews—the Eastern-European immigrants. It is of course the Nazi pretence that the home country of

the Jew is an irrelevance, even as his precise religious beliefs are an irrelevance.

> " Was der Jude glaubt ist einerlei ;
> In der Rasse liegt die Schweinerei "

" What the Jew believes does not matter ; in the race lies the swinishness " is the characteristically vulgar expression of their point of view. But we have only to remember how the number of our ancestors multiplies by two with every generation that we trace back our family-tree to see that out of the million ancestors from whom we find ourselves descended, if we go back a millennium or so, it is fantastic to believe that all were of a single race. The Nazi conception of a " pure " race is clearly a fantasy ; and, for all the segregation of centuries, we can have little doubt, when we think on the one hand of the steady stream of leakage from Judaism and on the other of proselytes, whether in Biblical times or such people as the Khazars at a later date, that every Jew has in his veins some drop of Gentile blood and every Gentile some drop of Jewish blood. Lorenzo and Jessica were no unique couple. Indeed the only possible scientific test of race, the blood-test, has proved completely useless for the tracing of Jewish blood, as Jews belong impartially to all the four basic blood-groups, and the Nazis have been driven back for evidence of Jewish blood to casual gossip about people's grandmothers. Popular opinion will say that at any rate you can tell the Jew by his nose, but in fact it is obviously untrue that all Jews have the Jewish nose. Jews tend to approximate in feature to the country of their domicile. If they look foreign in England and America, that is because their families there are usually comparatively recent arrivals.

The pretence that there is no distinction between the German Jew and the Eastern Jew is then an absurd one ; but Hitler, treating all Jews alike, has driven them back on to a reassertion of the one thing they have in common—their faith. Those who have left it have been driven back to it. Those who have adhered to it have redoubled their fervour. That faith, which was waning under the tolerance of European

liberalism, is now waxing again under Nazi persecution. And the Jews in modern civilisation have one great further advantage which they did not previously possess. Ours is an urban civilisation. The Jews have a much longer experience of city life than the rest of us. Ever since the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. the Jew has been almost exclusively a town-dweller. To this are due many of the traits that have earned him unpopularity, but it is also due to this that he can thrive in the city as the Christian cannot. Modern English and American civilization is an urban civilisation managed by countrymen. Though most of us are compelled by circumstances to live in the towns, we cannot thrive there, and it is rare indeed to find a town-dweller who can trace a town-ancestry back for more than two generations. The town is populated by immigrants from the country, who become sterile in the urban air. The Jew alone, with his healthy rules about early marriages and unrestricted families, can survive and thrive in the town. So long as industrialism survives, the survival of the Jew can hardly be in doubt. With the decline of his faith in the nineteenth century he was losing something of these advantages. With its revival, thanks to Hitler, he can look confidently forward to a noble future.

CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS

THE CAREER OF HUGH, SON OF RORY O DONNELL, EARL OF TIRCONNEL, IN THE LOW COUNTRIES, 1607—1642

BY BRENDAN JENNINGS, O.F.M.

HUGH O DONNELL, the son of Rory, Earl of Tirconnel, by his wife Brigid Fitzgerald, was perhaps the youngest of the " noble company " that fled from Ireland on September the 14, 1607. Up to the present his " fate and fortunes " have remained almost altogether unknown, and very little has come to light about him except that he passed some time in Louvain under the guardianship of his aunt, Nuala O Donnell, and that he died in the year 1642. It is possible now, however, to form at least a general idea of his career, and to follow him during his childhood and later at Court and in the Spanish military service. Through him we come into touch with other Irish exiles who were his contemporaries, most of whom likewise have almost completely disappeared from view since the time they left Ireland ; for like his better known countryman and fellow exile, Eoin Ruadh O Neill, with whom afterwards he held equal military rank, he drew to his standard members of many of the noblest families of Ireland.

The exiles who sailed from Lough Swilly on September the 14th, reached Louvain in the Low Countries on the following 9th of November after two months of strenuous travel. When they left that town for Rome almost four months later, on Thursday February the 20, 1608, Hugh O Donnell, who was little more than a year old, was left behind, as were his cousin and namesake Hugh O Donnell, son of Cathbarr, and two of the sons of Hugh O Neill, Sean and Brian. It may be of some interest to note, in passing, that the ladies of the party, amongst whom was Nuala O Donnell, all set out with the rest of the travellers for Rome, although upon the occasion of an earlier departure from Louvain (November the 25,

1607) when it had been intended to go to Spain, they had remained behind. From this it seems to be quite clear, in view of what will follow, that the well-known poem addressed to young Hugh O Donnell after his journey across the seas can refer only to his journey from Ireland, and not to a journey back from Rome in company with his aunt Nuala. Nuala returned to the Low Countries some time about December 1611, and it must be very doubtful that she came by sea; but Hugh, as will appear, was not with her, as he had not left Louvain.

Even without the aid of any evidence, we should have to presume that the exiles, before their departure from Ireland and again before their departure from Louvain, had made some provision for the care of the children in their party. Fortunately, a small bundle of papers preserved in the *Archives Générales du Royaume* at Brussels gives us some positive information about this and, in particular, tells us almost as much as we could wish to know about Hugh O Donnell for the next two years of his life. The bundle is made up of the correspondence between the Archduke Albert and his officials in Brussels and the Dames Blanches in Louvain, in which correspondence arrangements are made for the lodging, safe-guarding, and general nursing of the two O Donnell cousins and of a third Irish child, the son of their nurse. The Dames Blanches were Augustinian Canonesses, and their convent, although suppressed at the time of the French Revolution, was not destroyed until the sack of Louvain in 1914. Its ruins were to be seen, at least until recently, in the Rue du Ménage; and although from the letters of the nuns it would appear that they were not rich, their cloister was certainly fit to be the home of a young noble, even of an O Donnell. As for the social standing of the nuns who lived there, it will perhaps suffice to notice that their Sub-Prioress, Sister Elizabeth, was cousin to Verreyken, the Archduke's First Secretary of State; and their Prioress, Sister Catherine de Tserraerts, was evidently at her ease, as her letters show, with the officials and ladies of the Court at Brussels and even with the Archduke himself.

Concerning the provision made for the care of Hugh O Donnell during the fifteen months which elapsed between his leaving Ireland and his reception by the nuns, the documents inform us only incidentally. We learn, however, that he had been accompanied on the journey by his nurse Caecilia O Galuchor (the wife of Hugh) who had fostered him already for a year previously. He had again been left under the charge of this same nurse and her husband when his father the Earl had departed from Louvain for Rome; but a commission had been given by the latter to Fr. Donagh Mooney, Superior of the Irish Franciscans in Louvain, to exercise a general supervision and control. Apparently even before the departure of the Earl, his young son had been in danger of death, and upon the advice of Dr. Fienus, who was First Professor of Medicine in the University, another nurse had been appointed, Anna Ny Maddin, the wife of Denis Kelly.

We come now to the first letter of the official correspondence on December the 10, 1608, written by the Prioress of the Dames Blanches to the Archduke :—

Monseigneur. As it has pleased Your Highness to command his very humble and very obedient vassal and servant to receive into Your Highness's monastery of the Dames Blanches at Louvain the son and heir of the Earl of Tirconnell, aged between two and three years, for his greater security; and that he is to be kept and supported in our convent until further orders from Your Highness (the reasonable expenses to be paid); and that we should have to answer for him and keep a careful watch over him, not entrusting him to anyone except upon the express orders of Your Highness, to whom we are under so many signal obligations for the numberless acts of kindness we have at all times received from Your Highness, which obliges us to obey your commands promptly, in everything and in every way. And I and all my Sisters will take such care of him as shall be humanly possible. I very humbly pray Your Highness to give orders to the nurse that I may have two of my nuns, upon whom I may rely and have confidence, sleeping in the same room [with the child], so that he may never night or day be without the protection of a nun; also that the nurse be commanded to treat the child according to our instructions, for she does not provide for his warmth and comfort in accordance with our local customs. Your Highness promises to pay the reasonable expenses. Would to God that we had the ways and means which other convents

have, and we should ask for nothing; but being so poor, as we are, I very humbly pray Your Highness to be pleased to order that, as there are four people, we may receive two hundred florins every three months for our expenses in wood, light, laundry, and other services; for everything is dear. I also beg Your Highness to name someone to whom I may apply for payment every three months. Your Highness will thus all the more oblige myself and my Sisters to pray night and day for Your Highness's long life, prosperity, and health.

We receive the impression from this letter that the principal motive which lead the Archduke to place young Hugh under the care of the nuns was anxiety for his safety. We can understand this if we recall that the Earl, his father, had died on the previous July the 28th in Rome and that Hugh was now the head of his family. The fate of young Brian O Neill, who was found strangled in Brussels a few years later, shows that such precautions were by no means superfluous and that it was unsafe to leave one of these young Irish nobles unguarded even long after the years of his infancy had passed.

The requests and suggestions made by the Prioress were all acceded to by the Archduke, except that he thought that the Irish nurse should be allowed to use her discretion, since she had looked after the child so well up to the present. As I have already noted (and this is made clear from the subsequent correspondence) the nurse, together with her own child, and Hugh O Donnell and his cousin, who likewise had lost his father in Rome on the preceding September 15, make up the four persons mentioned in the Prioress's letter.

The next document to which I shall refer is again a letter from the Prioress, written just a little more than a year later, this time to Verreyken, the Archduke's Secretary. The friar minor to whom she refers at the beginning of her letter is, of course, Fr. Donagh Mooney, of whose departure for France from Louvain at this time we know from other sources. She writes on January 25, 1610:—

Sir. As the friar minor who placed in our convent the son and heir of the Earl of Tirconnel, with the other children and the nurse, came to tell me yesterday that he is leaving at once for France, and as thus the care of the said children and the nurse will rest altogether

in my hands as regards both their food and their clothing, I have not wished to delay in informing your Excellency of this immediately, so that you may be pleased to treat with His Highness that a further four hundred florins may be granted to us to make provision for the clothing both of the said nurse and of the children ; which altogether would make twelve hundred florins yearly, together with the other expenses ; also that an order may be given for the immediate payment to us of four or five hundred florins to provide for the clothing of the children and the nurse, as during this winter time it moves one to compassion to see them naked and suffering ; and on account of the poverty of the convent it is impossible for me to remedy matters. [In a postscript it is added that the children are very much changed since they came to the convent and are much improved in health ; and the biggest is beginning to learn very well.]

The Prioress's request for an increase of the pension and for an immediate grant was acceded to, and Secretary Verreyken informs her six days later that he is sending at once, upon the Archduke's orders, four hundred florins in fifty-five gold pieces. Everything seems to have proceeded normally for another month or so.

On February 20, 1610, in a further letter from the Prioress to Verreyken, we learn that complaints had been made to the Archduchess Isabella about the way the three boys were dressed : " Sir, we are very much surprised at certain complaints which have been made to Her Highness, that we do not dress these young Princes as their state demands. As we dress them in ermine and velvet, it seems to us that this should be quite satisfactory. Whenever my revered Sir may desire, he may have the matter examined. We fear that this complaint comes from someone who wishes to have the children out of our convent." The Prioress was evidently aroused, and on the following day she writes to Madame Verreyken, the Secretary's wife, and goes into the whole question. This particular letter is of great human interest :—

Noble Lady. May it please your Ladyship to know that two days ago we wrote a letter to His Excellency in which I informed him that we would send one of our Sisters to Brussels, in case it might please him to send us the money for the expenses of the board and maintenance of the two little Irish Princes, with their nurse and her son, for a half-year ended the 10th of February this year 1610. I am

sending also one of the dresses of these children, in order that your Ladyship may be pleased to give us some assurance that we dress these children becomingly. It is true that we cannot keep them as clean as we would wish, but this is the fault of the nurse, who is absolutely dirty. We have to suffer much on this account, but we do so because we hope thus to serve Her Highness and to please her; and also because we are poor and hope to gain something thereby. Otherwise, we would in no wise wish to do it, for it brings much disquiet into the convent. We also beg your Ladyship to be pleased, when we shall have received this money, to allow one of your maids to go with our Sister to buy some material pleasing to your Ladyship with which to clothe these children anew; to make an overgarment and an undergarment for each of them; and also a new hat.

About this time both the young Counts, as they are now called, had had a serious illness, "on account of which we have had to pay for two doctors and also for medicines—four pounds altogether. One of the little Counts had to be operated upon; for which the surgeon has yet to be paid two pounds."

The complaints which had moved the Prioress so much had come from Denis O Kelly (the husband of Anna Ny Maddin the nurse), who had complained to headquarters that the nuns had put his son out of the convent and would not give him any contribution for his maintenance or his studies. Verreyken evidently sent O Kelly's complaint to the convent, with the request for an explanation, and we have the following answer from the Prioress four days later, on March 10, 1610:—

Right honourable Sir. We thank your Excellency very heartily for the letter you have sent us with the request that we should justify our action. We regret that the delay has been so long, but the Jesuits who were witnesses to the agreement were not in town. As we put the nurse's son out of our convent for reasons mentioned in our petition [this document is missing], these people wish to know what extra contribution we are going to make towards the clothing of this woman and her son. We inform your Excellency that this nurse and the two little Counts, together with the son of the nurse, have been in our care for a half year. On that account we have had very much work and anxiety, besides the fact that the nurse has tired us continually with her requests that her husband might come every day to take his meals with her at our convent, a thing we neither could nor would allow. After that she

asked us that she might go every day to eat with her husband, which seemed very good to us ourselves and was also advised by the Irish Jesuit Fathers. We therefore agreed with her husband that we would give two hundred Rhine Florins yearly for the woman's expenses and eighty Rhine Florins for the expenses of her son; and for her clothing and the clothing of her son, one hundred and thirty Rhine Florins, making altogether four hundred and ten Rhine Florins; so that for ourselves we keep only eight hundred and ten Florins for the maintenance of the two little Counts and for their clothing and linen; for the laundry of the said nurse, her husband and son; and for a fine room with fire and light daily, with two nuns to look after these two children early and late. If we have not done enough for the nurse and her son, your Excellency will inform us; and if your Excellency think well, he may communicate everything to His Highness. It is also to be considered that the Jesuit Fathers have approved of everything. We hope that these two little Counts will be better with us, as regards both food and drink, than with the nurse.

We may be relieved to learn that, in spite of these remarks of the Prioress about the Irish nurse, there are attestations in her favour from the well-known Jesuit Fr. Peter Wadding and from Fr. Donagh Mooney, who happened to be passing through Louvain at this time on his way back from France to Ireland. Fr. Wadding mentions that Anna Ny Maddin was of noble birth; and Fr. Mooney states that she had been appointed with the approval of the Earl, Rory O Donnell and that she had given Hugh O Donnell the best nursing.

Perhaps I have already dwelt too long upon this period of Hugh O Donnell's life, and I will pass on quickly to what follows. An attempt was made by some members of the Irish colony, by Henry O Neill then Colonel of the Irish Regiment established four years previously, and by Fr. Hugh MacCaughwell to have Hugh O Galluchor and his wife Caecilia, who claimed to be the lawful nurse, substituted for Denis O Kelly and Anna Ny Maddin. But to this the nuns themselves objected, considering that the woman they knew was preferable to a stranger. After all, the old nurse was not so bad, and she could even speak a little Flemish, which was very useful on both sides. No change seems to have been made. A few months later, however, on October 8, 1610, peremptory orders were sent to the Prioress by the Archduke that Hugh

O Donnell and his cousin were henceforward to be boarded with the Irish Franciscans, along with the two sons of Hugh O Neill, Sean and Brian; and they were to be put into the hands of Fr. Hugh MacCaughwell, the Franciscan Superior, with all their clothing and belongings. On October 12, Hugh MacCaughwell reported that the nuns had refused to hand over the children to him, and the nuns themselves wrote even to the Archduke remonstrating respectfully against the removal of the young O Donnell. He is not yet four years of age. He loves his nurse tenderly " and also the nuns on account of their good nursing; and recently, when told that he would have to leave them, he had screamed, and bled from the nose. The place too, where the Irish Franciscans live, is the most unhealthy in Louvain; and Colonel Don John O Neill who lives there with them is sick, and often enough so are the Franciscans themselves." But evidently the Archduke had not acted upon any sudden impulse, and on October 15 premptory orders were sent that the young Count was to be removed to the Franciscans forthwith.

Amongst the papers which formerly belonged to the Irish Franciscan College at Louvain there is unfortunately no mention whatever of the residence amongst the friars either of the young O Neills or the O Donnells. Probably all four boys (for I presume that the son of Cathbarr was with the others) received there the fundamental part of their education, and stayed there until they were sufficiently old to serve at Court or in the army. I have already mentioned that about the month of December 1611, Nuala O Donnell returned from Rome, and in the well-known account of her interview with Turnbull, the English Agent in Brussels, in which she endeavoured to negotiate Hugh O Donnell's removal from the Low Countries and his restoration to favour with James the First, she is said to be " tutoress to the late Earl of Tirconnel's son living at Louvain." This interview has been dated just before the holding of the Irish Parliament, 1613-1615. It is probable that John Bath, who was granted by the Spanish authorities eight crowns monthly while performing certain duties in Louvain, was also in some way connected with the

education of the young nobles; and in a document dated March 3, 1614, there is mention of "Messe Jehan Culenanus, pbre Irlandois, pédagogue du Conte de Tirconel," who seems to have been looking for a prebend to eke out his salary. Meanwhile, for his own maintenance, young Tirconnel had received from the Government of the Low Countries, by order of the King of Spain, a grant of 1,000 crowns monthly. The earliest mention of this occurs under the date of August 6, 1611, and at the same time a grant of 50 crowns monthly was made to his cousin Hugh O Neill. It is evident, I think, that the name meant here is Hugh O Donnell, who had been with him at the Dames Blanches; and all possible doubt about this seems to be removed by the consistent mention of this latter's name in all subsequent grants until Hugh (the son of Cathbarr) O Donnell's death.

It is not possible to say exactly how long O Donnell remained in Louvain, but perhaps we have an indication that he had already left the College of the Irish Franciscans by the beginning of the year 1617. His expenses would then have become greater, and some time just before he had asked for an increase of his grant from the King, petitioning rather ambitiously that it should be made the same as was enjoyed in Rome by his father, the late Earl; and although he could then have been only ten or eleven years of age, he undertook to fulfil the same obligations that his father had. An increase of fifty crowns monthly was granted him by the King on August 24, 1618. In the meantime, he had already been sufficiently long in the service of the Infanta Isabella as one of her pages to consider himself due for advancement, and some time before January 26, 1618, he had petitioned to be tranferred to the service of the Prince in Spain. By May 2, 1619, this petition had not been granted, and the Archduke Albert brought it again, with a strong recommendation, to the notice of the King. But evidently it had been ignored of set purpose, and no further mention of it occurs.

Probably Tirconnel remained in the service of Isabella until the autumn of 1621, when he returned to Louvain—this time to frequent the University. His name is on the

students' roll under the date of October 18, 1621 : "*Illustrissimus D. Albertus Hugo odonellus princeps Tyrconaliae, Comes Dongaliae etc., Hibernus nobilis.*" There is no indication of what studies he followed or of how long he stayed there. The additional name Albert, which appears here for the first time, had probably been taken in confirmation in honour of the Archduke. Another Irish noble must have been at the University at the same time as O Donnell, for his name appears on the roll a few months earlier (22 December, 1620), James MacDonell (Jacobus Magdonel), but amongst the other Irish students of the day whom O Donnell must frequently have met, there is none of any particular distinction. Down at the Irish Franciscans, who by now had moved into their new home in the modern Place Saint Antoine, he would have found Archbishop Florence Conry and, amongst the students, Edward and George Dillon (sons of Viscount Dillon), Antony McGeoghegan, Brian MacGillacoine (better known afterwards as Brian Conny), Patrick Fleming, and Francis MacDonnel, son of the Earl of Antrim. Fr. Robert Chamberlain and Fr. Hugh MacCaughwell were still teaching there in the College.

Before another year had passed, O Donnell had again petitioned the King for yet a further increase in his pension, and on November 8, 1622, the Archduke, in reply to the King's inquiries, recommended an addition of 50 crowns, thus bringing the total for a short period to 200 crowns monthly —this being done both in view of the services of the late Earl and also in order that O Donnell's allowance might be the same as that enjoyed by "his cousin the Count of Tiron," who even then would be the better off by the amount of his pay as Maestro de Campo of the Irish Regiment. On June 26, 1623, O Donnell received licence for Spain for six months "on business of great importance"; and although there is no indication of whether he actually went or not, it must be presumed that he did. On August 6, his grant was renewed for a further three years, as were also the grants of the Count of Tiron, of Don Hugo Odonel, and of Don Conacio Oneil. Conacio is mentioned as early as March 8, 1616, when the Archduke Albert petitioned the King to make him a monthly

allowance for his maintenance and studies. He describes him as "Don Conatio Oneil, nephew of the Earl of Tiron, son of a brother of his who is a prisoner in London"; and Conatio is diversely said to be ten and twelve years old. "He had fled from Ireland," writes the Archduke, "because the English had tried to capture him (according to what I have heard) and because some months ago they beheaded his brother on a charge of trying to rise in rebellion with some maritime fort; and then this gentleman (who is only ten years old) came hither to seek Your Majesty's aid, because he believes that if they had captured him, he would have incurred the same risk as had his brother." The desired grant for Conacio was made on September 10, 1616.

Before we again hear of O Donnell, two years pass, and in the meantime he had evidently been once more at Court. On September 11, 1625, orders were given for the transfer of the allowance of 150 crowns monthly which he now enjoyed "about our person"—that is to say, in attendance on the Archduchess Isabella—"to the Castle of Antwerp, whence he will enjoy them hereafter." This marks his entry upon a military career, for the Castle of Antwerp was the centre upon which all military grants and pay were drawn. His cousin, Hugh, son of Cathbarr, had already received his commission as Captain of a company of Irish Infantry in the Regiment of the Count of Tirone (Sean O Neill), for we find his death reported under the date of April 20, 1625, when his company was transferred to the command of Don Geraldo Mauricio (FitzMaurice). Hugh was laid to rest in the chapel of the Irish Franciscans, where shortly after July 23, 1623, another O Donnell, Captain Daniel of the same regiment and a nephew of the Earl Rory, had preceded him.

The position of O Donnell as the head of his family evidently made it impossible for him to serve as a subordinate in the regiment of O Neill, and even before he left the Court in September 1625, the Infanta Isabella had been in correspondence with the King concerning the formation of a second Irish regiment, of which the command should be given to him. The proposal had first come from the King himself, who in a letter

of July 30, 1624, had suggested to the Infanta that the English and Scots in the Spanish service in the Low Countries should be disbanded, and a second Irish regiment recruited in their place. Isabella remarks in reply (12 September 1624) that it was already difficult to recruit sufficient men for the one Irish regiment in existence, although all the Irishmen who came to the Low Countries were accepted for it; but the King answers that if this regiment cannot be raised and its command given to the Count of Tirconnel, he should be at least paid his allowance punctually. The regiment, however, should be recruited for him, if possible or feasible, "as there are many reasons why this gentleman should be kept occupied and satisfied." The Infanta answered that she would do what she could, but she saw very little likelihood for the near future (5 November 1625).

We learn that at this time O Donnell had been made a Knight of the Habit of Alcantara and that, three days previously to the Infanta's letter, he had been given a commission as Captain of the company of Spanish Mounted Cuirassiers formerly commanded by Captain Luis de Serria. He was to retain his allowance of one hundred and fifty crowns monthly, together with his pay as captain. On September 8 of the following year (1626) instructions even came from the King that, together with his company of Horse, he was to be given a company of Irish Infantry, the order obviously having been made merely as a means of increasing his income; but in a letter of October 26 following, the Infanta objected that the command of two companies, one of Horse and one of Foot, by one captain at the same time was impossible, especially in the case of a captain who had no experience in the previous wars; and in a letter of December 18, His Majesty accepted her objections. No mention occurs of O Donnell's company of Horse except that on December 14, 1627, it was ordered into garrison at Sichem, where it apparently remained until April 1630. On the last day of October of this same year, orders were issued that whereas the officers junior to the Count of Tirconnel had raised difficulties about obeying him, henceforward all Cavalry Captains belonging to the Light Horse

of the army, of whatsoever birth, nation, or condition, were to respect his rights of precedence and whatever other rights were his as expressed in his commission. His presence in the regiment seems to have been resented, perhaps because he was a foreigner.

This year might have been the culminating point of O Donnell's life and glory, had a scheme for the invasion of Ireland, put forward by Archbishop Florence Conry, been carried through; for it was at one time suggested that the leadership of the invasion should be entrusted to the young Count of Tirconnel. The point of invasion was to be Killybegs in Donegal Bay, and the Irish soldiers in the Low Countries, together with others, were to be used for the enterprise. It was suggested that the Irish regiment should be divided into two, and in order to prevent jealousy, both Tirone and Tirconnel were to be made Generals. The two regiments thus formed were then to be brought up to full strength by the drafting in of Wallon troops. In order to bring about closer unity between the two great Irish families, it was suggested that the King of Spain should arrange and endow a marriage between the Count of Tirone (Sean O Neill) and a sister of the Count of Tirconnel who had lately fled to the Low Countries from England; but this proposal was turned down immediately by the young lady herself, who would not hear of it. The son of O Rourke, who had fled from England shortly before, should be taken along in some capacity, as he could immediately draw a whole countryside to the movement. Arms should be dispatched in plenty, in case the Hebrides should ask for them; plenty of gunners and plenty of masters of fortifications and engineers; some petardeers and plenty of petards, as there was no castle or city-gate in Ireland which could stand against them. To provide cavalry, four companies of Wallon cavalry should be sent, but without their horses, as strong nags could be got in Ireland easily and, afterwards, good horses. They should take, however, their carbines, pistols, weapons, saddles, reins, boots and spurs. These four companies of cavalry would be worth more than a hundred companies of the enemy's, and they would teach the

Irish to shoot on horseback—not with spears, as they were accustomed to, but with carbines and pistols. As the King of Spain did not desire any more territory for himself, he made the suggestion that an Irish Republic should be proclaimed immediately after the landing. Owen Roe O Neill and Florence Conry went down to Spain to discuss the plans with the King, and Conry died there while on this mission. Preparations were pushed forward, and the boats were brought to Dunkirk; but war between England and Spain, upon which everything depended, did not break out, and the hopes of many exiles were dashed to the ground.

What must have been the object of O Donnell's long deferred hopes was realised at last in January 1632, when he was put on an equal footing with O Neill and made Colonel (Maestro de Campo) of an Irish regiment. His commission is dated January 13 (1632), and it states that his regiment is to consist of fifteen banners and to enjoy equal rights with the Spanish regiments. O Donnell's qualifications are enumerated: his rank, his services as *entretenido* and as Captain of Spanish Lancers for five years, and "the distinguished manner in which he had acted on all occasions which had offered, particularly during the campaign for the relief of Bois-le-Duc and for the entry into Veluwe; and, during the year just passed, in repulsing the enemy near Bruges." Bois-le-Duc had been besieged by Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange, in 1629; and the action near Bruges had been fought against the forces of the same Prince in 1631.

We are able to reconstitute, to some extent, this regiment which was now formed and placed under the command of O Donnell. Each of the fifteen companies was to consist of 200 men. On February 22, Captain Thomas Preston was granted licence for Ireland to raise recruits, and a similar licence was given to Ensign David Sinot. The services of Patricio Guinche, soldier of the company of Captain Don Antonio Mulrian, of Tirone's regiment, were requisitioned for the same purpose. Four days later, on February 26, eight of the companies had already been partly raised and had received their first grant of pay—the companies of the

Count of Tirconnel, of Captain Lorenzo Gefry, Captain Nellano Obuyll, Captain Don Juan de Burgo, Captain Eugenio (really Antonio) Mulrian, Captain Don Diego Preston, Captain Don Diego Ocahan, and Captain Don Geraldo Hocq. On the same date Pedro Morca was appointed Campaign-Captain of the regiment, and six days later again, on February 29, six other companies were admitted to pay, their Captains being Olivero Geraldin, Nelano Obuis, Richardo Plonqueto, Waltero Dalton, Mauricio Feral, and Juan Scoclocq. On the following December John Conel was appointed the regiment's chief surgeon.

While all this was going on, O Donnell himself was busy about another most important but quite different matter. On March 20, 1632, he entered into a marriage agreement with Demoiselle Anne Margueritte de Boussu, eldest daughter of the late Maximilien Comte de Boussu and of the " haulte et puissante dame Madame Alexandrine de Gaure, Comtesse Dourarière de Boussu, etc." On his side O Donnell brought to the marriage his hereditary rights to the Barony of Liffir and to the lordship of Lower Connaught and Sligo, which should have been of the annual value of 600,000 gold florins, but which at present were held by the King of England because the late Prince had refused to change his faith. However, in place of this, Tirconnel enjoys from His Catholic Majesty a yearly sum of 1,800 crowns. Moreover, he had 3,000 crowns yearly as a Knight of Alcantara and also his pay as Colonel (Maestro de Campo). On her side the bride was to own certain lands called Biest, near Dendreleuwe, and others in the village of Ampresse near Dixmude ; and together with her sisters and brothers she was to divide one-third of the lands, baronies, viscounties, and lordships left by her late father in Flanders. The marriage seems to have been celebrated at an early date, for it is referred to in another interesting document of the following year, in which O Donnell was granted naturalisation as a subject of the King of Spain. Here his career is given from the time of his arrival in the Low Countries, " alors seulement d'âge de deux ans," until the recruiting of his regiment, " qu'il auroit levé à ses propres despens, et mesné d'Irlande pardeça avec grand travail " ;

and the document continues: "s'estant depuis allié avec la fille du Comte de Boussu, à l'intention de vivre et mourir en ces pays."

O'Donnell remained in the Low Countries for some years further, but the military and other records give very little more information about him, and that little relates mostly to complaints on his part concerning delays of the grants and payments due to him. On April 7, 1635, he represents that no less than 26,280 crowns are owing to him. Interesting rumours had reached the King of Spain just before this (he mentions them in a letter to the Cardinal Infante on January 19, 1635) that the French were making attempts to detach both O Donnell and O Neill from the Spanish service and draw them to their own. In April 1638 O Donnell and his regiment went to Spain, and it is known that he was killed there in a naval engagement against the French—apparently not long before September 1642. The author of the *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, who mentions these details, speaks of him as "*aulicus politissimus, in disciplina militari versatissimus, animi plenissimus, sed minus prudens quam Tironius, homo consultissimus.*" And with that appreciation, which is not in contradiction with the information we have been able to glean from the archives,[1] this account of O Donnell's career may fitly end.

BRENDAN JENNINGS

[1] The information here put together has been gathered from the *Archives Générales du Royaume*, Brussels. The bundle of letters concerning O Donnell and the *Dames Blanches* at Louvain is to be found in *Papiers d'Etat et de l'Audience, Carton*, 1937; and the documents concerning the proposed invasion of Ireland are to be found in the *Secrétairerie d'Etat et de Guerre: Correspondance de l'Infante Isabelle avec Philippe iv, Registres* 195-197, and *Liasse* 301: *Correspondance de l'Infante Isabelle avec Don Gaspar de Guzman, Comte d'Olivares . . . Premier Ministre de Philippe iv.* For the details of the various pensions granted to O Donnell and for his military career, I have used the correspondence of Albert and Isabella with the Court of Spain, and also various *Registres des Patentes, titres, ordres et dépêches*, where all entries are dated.

POST-WAR PROBLEMS IN ENGLAND

BY DENIS GWYNN

TO anyone who had witnessed the extraordinary changes caused by the last war in Great Britain it was evident that a second world war would produce still greater transformations. Yet the changes wrought by the last war were social rather than economic. The general effect was to intensify the former tendency to congregate in ever increasing towns and suburbs, and to concentrate the whole economic life of the country under the control of still larger combinations of capital, whether for production or distribution. In that strange lull during the first winter and spring of the present war it seemed for a time that the same process was at work again. War conditions were making it impossible for small businesses or individuals to continue their work; the only alternative for many of them was either to give up the struggle or to amalgamate with their competitors. The State was assuming ever wider powers, restricting supplies in the interests of more concentrated production and introducing a greater measure of standardisation, so that output could be accelerated and increased. Factories of every kind were being changed over from peace production to the requirements of war. Trades which were not necessary for war work were either closing down or being transformed for other uses. Literally millions of men and women were leaving their former employment to undertake different occupations, either in the fighting services or in temporary employments connected with the war. There had been a widespread dispersal of the population; but the tendency was still, as it had been for generations past, to congregate in large centres of industry where production and trade were most active.

But a new phase opened with the air raids which began in earnest after the collapse of France. The effect of the destruction which has been inflicted month after month upon

the chief cities, and especially upon the shipping centres, of Great Britain has produced a problem entirely different to that which developed from the last war. The actual extent of devastation caused by the air raids is almost always exaggerated by those who have only imagined the result from the accounts of destruction which they have read. Mr. Maynard Keynes, who has exceptional opportunities for estimating the whole position through his connection with one of the principal insurance companies, made the startling statement quite recently that one of the largest companies owning properties all over the country had not yet suffered the loss of even 1 per cent. of the buildings in which it is concerned. Many people must imagine by this time that London presents a picture of general ruin and desolation. But in fact it has been a surprise to most observers that the damage which has been done—except in a few areas which have suffered specially, like the city of London after the first big incendiary raid—makes so little difference to the general appearance of the streets. The sight of gaps here and there in almost any street in London has been familiar for years past owing to the immense amount of rebuilding that had been in progress. Many districts in the whole city have been steadily undergoing a process of transformation, the old houses or shops being pulled down to make way for tall modern blocks built with steel girders. Anyone who has been frequently in London in recent years must have been struck by this constant sight of vacant and boarded-up spaces where old buildings had just been pulled down.

To outward appearance (apart from the large number of broken windows) the effect of air raids on London and other modern cities has to a large extent been similar to that former process of demolition before rebuilding. Not only the shopping and business areas were being pulled down for rebuilding. In many parts of the cities wide areas of dingy and miserable working-class dwellings were being systematically demolished, so that new housing estates could be developed by the local authorities. But the new problem is whether the great cities are in fact to be rebuilt on the former scale. The whole

prospect of industry and trade in Great Britain has, for many reasons, been transformed during the past year. And it is at least unlikely that the same proportion of the people as before the war will find their livelihood in the old occupations. A Minister of Reconstruction has already been appointed to make plans on the widest scale. But his eventual programme will have to depend on the state of affairs generally when the war has brought every belligerent country further on the road to exhaustion. The financing of reconstruction will be an enormous problem, and it is quite certain that a great deal which has been destroyed will never be replaced.

One ingenious M.P. persisted for a long time in reproaching the Government for not having adopted his suggestion at the outbreak of war, that the underground railway tubes in London should be immediately extended in many directions, so that they could serve the dual purpose of providing deep shelters against air attacks and relief for future traffic expansion after the war. But it may well be that the volume of traffic which will be concentrated in London after the war will be considerably less, and not greater, than that which caused so much congestion before. The same consideration applies to all the principal cities which have suffered in air raids. A raid in Oxford Street, for instance, was reported to have damaged three famous drapery stores which stand side by side. One had been almost completely demolished, while the other two had been more or less severely damaged. Will conditions after the war require the revival, at enormous cost, of so many competing stores side by side in the same street? The appalling wastefulness of the capitalist system has been one of the revelations of this war, as it was of the last. Many thousands of small shop-keepers have found it impossible to carry on with reduced supplies and frequently with reduced populations to serve. Their elimination has, for the present at least, strengthened the control exercised by the larger stores. And the process of amalgamation will probably be carried further by the new orders issued by the Government which compel the "chain stores" to close down a considerable number of their local

branches, on the ground that they involve a waste of labour while their turnover is reduced by restrictions on consumption generally.

That unemployment should have remained at a high level was not surprising in view of this continual reduction, under pressure of war conditions, in the number of persons employed in the distributive trades. During the last war state regulation of industry and trade did not develop so quickly, and for several years there was a real boom in many luxury trades, which this time have been deliberately stifled in order to reduce wasteful consumption. But the mobilisation of all employment for war purposes has now proceeded so vigorously that the unemployed from all sources have been rapidly absorbed. A very large proportion of those who are now in war-time employments will, however, find that their former occupations have disappeared when the war ends. It is in this respect that the destruction by air raids will introduce a problem which did not arise last time, and which can only be met by planning on entirely new lines. The air attacks have been deliberately concentrated upon the cities and the great centres of industry and shipping, and there must obviously be delay before rebuilding can be carried out. But during that interval in which rebuilding must be undertaken there will inevitably be a large turnover to other employments where work can be provided more quickly. And it is at least doubtful whether all the industries affected by war destruction can be expected to revive on the same scale as before 1939.

The main weight of the air raids has of course been directed against the shipping centres, in order to prevent supplies from arriving from abroad, and also with the object of destroying ships while in harbour or in the docks and of wrecking the installations for unloading ships. Warehouses have been destroyed, especially by fires. All around the coast the great shipping centres have been bombed again and again during the past year. The vast docks of London, with their immense warehouses, were among the first to suffer when the large-scale air raids began. The very heavy losses in ships will affect employment, even though the need for shipping services and

for imports will be overwhelming as soon as peace returns. But apart from this, there is the further problem of recovering lost markets overseas. Europe has been so desperately impoverished already by the war that the demand for British exports, or for goods carried by British shipping in the past, will inevitably be restricted for a time, even under the most favourable conditions, because of the inability of foreign countries to pay for imports. At the same time the world's markets will be offered huge surpluses of goods that have been accumulating in other Continents while their normal markets in Europe have been cut off.

For these reasons it must be expected that many of the largest cities in England—including London itself, and Liverpool, Newcastle, Bristol, Cardiff, Plymouth and Southampton —will for some time after the end of the war be unable to provide their former employment to large numbers of workers who are at present engaged in temporary war-work. The bombing of inland cities like Birmingham or Coventry can be more easily repaired. But the reduction of exports will undoubtedly affect other industrial centres which have in the past depended chiefly upon the export trade. The textile trade, for instance, may suffer heavily for a time. And the mining areas—particularly the coal fields of Tyneside and South Wales—will almost certainly have to find other outlets than the foreign markets which have kept them chiefly occupied for many years. Besides these special areas dependent either on shipping or on the export trade, one must expect unemployment also in other industries which have in the past been occupied with supplying their needs. If the shipping centres, for instance, are handling less traffic for a time, the railways and the other transport industries will also be deprived of much of their usual traffic. And the distribution trades will suffer correspondingly, both from reduced supplies and from a general lack of purchasers.

These difficulties are so obvious that they are presumably being considered as fundamental conditions in whatever plans the Ministry of Reconstruction is attempting to prepare. A large and sudden shrinkage in the employment hitherto

available in the chief cities of the country would seem to be inevitable, even in the most favourable conditions of victory at a date earlier than anyone now seriously contemplates. Never before has there been a similar opportunity for wholesale reconstruction of the country's economic life—and on lines which may at last reverse that continual drift into the cities which has been uncontrollable since the industrial revolution began. The tendency towards urban concentrations was undoubtedly increased after the last war, though it assumed a somewhat different form with the growth of immense suburban areas in which housing was less congested. Whereas in 1914 the urban population lived mainly in the cities themselves, under appalling conditions of overcrowding and bad housing, the urban population in 1939 had substantially increased but was generally better housed in modern suburbs, which were rapidly extending for miles around the cities. Many of these suburban areas were little more than " dormitories " for men who travelled every day to work in the cities and for a great number of young and middle-aged women who also went to work in offices or factories at a distance from their homes. There has undoubtedly been a vast improvement in housing during the past twenty years. A very large part of the miserable working-class districts has been pulled down and replaced by modern buildings. They at least provide more air and playing-room for children, even if they have compelled great numbers of families to live in blocks of flats instead of living in little houses in mean streets where light hardly penetrated. But while the worst blots have been removed, a great deal that was hideous and deplorable still remained ; and in so far as air raid damage has made reconstruction necessary, there will be little cause for regret. " If you wanted to create something dreary and wretched," wrote Eric Gill, from bitter personal experience, in his Autobiography " it would be difficult to create anything more dreary or more wretched than Clapham —the Clapham of the Junction and the miles of silly little dirty houses between the Wandsworth Road and Battersea." The great railway junction and other important targets in

that melancholy part of London have certainly not been ignored by the German air force ; and if rebuilding is necessary on a considerable scale when the war is over, many people will feel that an opportunity has been created for creating something more human and more useful.

These vast suburbs which surround the overcrowded cities will provide both the chief problem and the chief opportunity for the Ministry of Reconstruction. Anybody who is familiar with suburban life in England will realise what a transformation will have taken place in their outlook when peace returns. Inevitably great numbers of men who live in them and have been accustomed to going to their daily work in the adjacent cities will find that their former occupation has, for one reason or another, come to an end. Hundreds of thousands of girls and women also who formerly worked as shop assistants or typists in the cities will find, when they give up their present war-work, that their services are no longer needed. Premises may have been damaged or closed down, or the volume of business being done in the places where they formerly worked will not provide employment for so many people as before the war. The suburbs have generally escaped the attention of the air raiders. But even in them, if they become full of people temporarily out of work, it will very probably be impossible to provide as much employment as formerly in the distributing trades. Yet they are large enough to develop an independent and to some extent a self-contained existence, if local industries are fostered and assisted. Many of them have populations larger than Waterford or Limerick. Some are at least as large as Cork.

In the smaller provincial towns there are still greater possibilities for a decentralised development. Most of the old market towns have some local industry already, and other industries could be established under a national scheme which took account of local possibilities and requirements. Many of them have, for one reason or another, become much more active during the war through becoming the temporary centres of businesses evacuated from the larger cities, or through the arrival of large numbers of evacuated children

or the establishment of military or air force centres or munition factories. It would be surprising in any case—even without Government assistance—if many people who have made their homes there under war conditions do not wish to remain where they are, rather than return to towns which have suffered from air raids and where unemployment will be severe during the years of reconstruction. The drift to the suburbs in the past twenty years may well result in a preference for life in smaller centres if, instead of being merely "dormitories," these centres can be developed sufficiently to provide employment. Their standards of life are simpler and less pretentious. And not least important, as a factor in creating a new attitude, is the fact that the suburbs have to so many people meant escape to the open air and to work in the family garden or allotment during the week-ends. Only the well-to-do regard the suburbs as places where golf can be played at the end of the week's work. And under war conditions many of the golf courses have already been converted into allotments for food production. The suburbans, with their little gardens and their houses which they are usually buying by monthly instalments with the help of a Building Society, are as earnest and industrious home-makers as any peasantry in Europe.

Two industries will certainly enjoy a period of intense activity once the war ends. The building trade and the trades dependent upon it or affected by its revival will be able to absorb an immense number of new workers for a good many years. The present control of building materials and the allocation of supplies to districts will certainly have to continue. There is every likelihood that the Government will use its powers drastically to give priority to building not only of a necessary kind, but in whatever areas seem most likely to provide best prospects of absorbing the unemployed. But even more than the building trade, the Ministry of Reconstruction must look to agriculture as the chief hope of creating a general economic recovery. Trade fluctuations have created so much confusion for the past ten years or more that exact comparisons are impossible. But, broadly speaking, agriculture was still the largest single industry in England

when war broke out. Not even the combined mining industries gave employment to so large a total of workers. And whereas almost every other industry was localised in certain areas and was subject to periodic cycles of activity and depression, agriculture was spread over the entire country in its different forms, and its revival at any time always produced a corresponding effect in all parts of the country.

A return to the land, as the surest form of employment and of secure subsistence, is already being preached all over England at a time when the submarine and air attacks are producing an unprecedented demand for home-grown food. The almost incredible folly with which agriculture has been allowed to fall into decay in England is admitted on every side, and there are daily exhortations to " dig for victory " and daily assurances that the English farmers will never again be allowed to suffer the underselling which has been inflicted upon them for years past. But precisely the same situation arose during the last war, although not quite in so intense a form. Those who have seen their savings eaten up in the hopeless attempt to make farming pay are still sceptical as to whether the familiar promises will be honoured this time, as they were not after the last war. They are deeply conscious that sooner or later the old problem must arise again; an imperative demand for cheap food for the town people during a period of acute unemployment. Across the oceans the great producing countries will have a vast surplus of crops which they cannot sell at profitable prices and which they will offer at any price that can be obtained. Is cheap food to be kept out of the English market when it is urgently needed, simply because the small minority who get their living out of the land in England cannot hope to produce crops at the prices which would be accepted for the surplus from overseas? Under the strain of that demand for cheap food after the last war the pledges given to the English farmers were broken, and the land which had been reclaimed during the years of anxiety was allowed to fall back into neglect and ruin.

Many of the conditions have changed since that bitter experience of twenty years ago, and there is certainly more

ground for hope. The extension of tillage during the present war has been astonishing and much more rapid than that of the last war. So rapid a recovery cannot be explained simply by the greater urgency of the present time. The chief reason for greater success during the present war has been the widespread use of machinery, and especially of tractors. They have been produced in great numbers and made available to the County Executive Committees, which undertake to carry out the necessary cultivations whenever the farmers cannot do it themselves. There are several hundred thousand fewer agricultural workers in the country to-day than there were twenty years ago, and much of the former skill and acquired knowledge of farming conditions has been lost with the disappearance of older men and with the passing of younger men trained on the land into industrial occupations. But the introduction of machinery has enabled young men, who would in normal times have become lorry drivers or mechanics, to bring back into cultivation an immense extent of disused land even though they know practically nothing about farming as such. Similarly, in another direction, there will be very large scope for employment in land drainage schemes which will bring land into a workable state. Once the neglected land has been reclaimed—whether by cleaning and ploughing up overgrown tracts of waste or by draining land which could not be cultivated before—there will be much more possibility of finding employment for large numbers of people who can be taught technical knowledge, and persuaded to regard farming as a form of employment which offers greater security than most industrial occupations.

Sheer necessity during the period of reconstruction will almost certainly compel the State to encourage a general return to the land, not only as a direct means of providing employment but to extend as widely as possible all over the country the beneficial effects of revival of an industry which can aid the prosperity of so many others. The possibilities of agricultural development in England are far greater than is generally believed. "Only the other day," said Cardinal Manning in his famous lecture in Leeds on the Dignity and

Rights of Labour in 1879, " I saw a statement which seemed to me at first so incredible that I bought the Report and verified it by examining the passage. Till then I believed that there must be some inaccuracy in it. The Committee of the House of Lords last year upon the drainage and improvement has this statement, resting upon the authority of two very eminent agriculturists. The one stated that of 20 million acres in England only 3 million are adequately drained ; and the other said that of the land in England only one-fifth is as yet adequately treated by agriculture. Therefore labour may be only in the dawn of its work ; and if England has developed itself by its labour—as I began by saying—to so vast an extent, do not let us for a moment imagine that we have reached the limit of what may be done by the advancement of that labour." In sixty years since those words were spoken agriculture in England has further declined.

That life will be much simpler and less artificial when peace returns is plainly inevitable. The vast financial resources which were the basis of England's world-wide overseas trade have been almost exhausted by the overwhelming expense of the war. It is scarcely conceivable that imports from foreign countries can be bought in the future on terms of exchange as favourable as in the past. The pound sterling can scarcely fail to lose much of its former ascendancy in relation to the foreign currencies of other countries. Intensified production for the home markets will become an absolute necessity owing to the difficulties of foreign trade while the shipping centres are being refitted and ships are being built to replace those lost in the war. The unique advantages which England has enjoyed, both by her financial power and by her longer experience of the industrial revolution, will have largely disappeared. And with their disappearance and with a more healthy dependence upon home production, the worst evils of the commercial system of the past hundred years will be greatly mitigated. Almost a full century has passed since Carlyle in his *Past and Present* denounced not only the dangers but the actual results of the industrial and commercial system. " You have to admit," he wrote, " that the working body

of this rich English Nation has sunk or is sinking into a state to which, all sides of it considered, there was literally never any parallel."

As a remedy for the evils which he saw developing around him, Carlyle demanded first the institution of "two services, an Education Service and an Emigration Service." Given what he called a "free bridge for emigrants," he believed that "We could proceed deliberately to 'organise Labour,' not doomed to perish unless we effected it within year and day; every willing worker that proved superfluous finding a bridge ready for him. Our little Isle is grown too narrow for us; but the world is wide enough yet for another Six Thousand Years. England's sure markets will be among new Colonies of Englishmen in all quarters of the Globe." Experience of recent years, quite apart from the chaos which has arisen during the present war, has scarcely borne out the hopes that Carlyle then expressed. The remedy would seem to lie rather in the counsels of William Cobbett, whose loud courageous voice still moves a younger generation to join in his revolt against the extinction, in the interests of the cities, of all that was secure and homely. Has the time come when, the long process of the industrial revolution having reached its climax, a return to simpler tradition will be effected by force of circumstances? That hope has arisen so often that it may be only an illusion once again. It was in 1843 that Carlyle wrote in the conclusion of his *Past and Present:* "Truly it is beautiful to see the brutish empire of Mammon cracking everywhere; giving sure promise of dying or of being changed. A strange, chill, almost ghastly dayspring strikes up in Yankeeland itself: my Transcendental friends announce there, in a distinct though somewhat lankhaired ungainly manner, that the Demiurgos Dollar is dethroned." Mammon was certainly far from exhaustion in 1843. He survived even the last war with every appearance of increasing vigour and appetite. But the signs of his "brutish empire cracking" are much more manifest to-day.

DENIS GWYNN

WILLIAM JAMES MacNEVEN

Born 21 March 1763—Died 12 July 1841

BY DEASMUMHAN Ó RAGHALLAIGH

WILLIAM JAMES MacNEVEN was born at Ballynahowne, near Aughrim, Co. Galway, on March 21, 1763. His parents, who were both Catholics, held an estate in Co. Galway, which had been in the family since the days of Cromwell, when they had been dispossessed of large holdings in the North of Ireland. MacNeven's mother died when he was very young, and he and his three younger brothers were cared for by their paternal aunt, who was a widow. Two of his brothers died before reaching manhood.

MacNeven was educated at the local hedge school till he reached his eleventh or twelfth year. He was then sent by his father to his uncle, Baron William O'Kelly MacNeven, at Prague.[1] This Baron, who had left Ireland in his youth and had won a reputation for himself as a physician on the Continent, was at this time one of the physicians to the Court of the Empress Maria Theresa. Young MacNeven spent some ten years under his uncle's care. He received a classical education in Prague, and then attended the medical college there. One authority states that he was also actually educated at the "military college in Prague."[2] He then went to the University of Vienna, where he completed his medical studies and graduated in 1783. While in Vienna, he was a favourite pupil of Professor Pestel in the medical school there[3] and showed great promise in his studies.

William MacNeven had been joined, at his uncle's house, by his younger brother, Hugh, who also took up the study of medicine. When the two brothers had completed their education, they returned to Ireland, and William began to

[1] For some account of this Baron and other MacNevens in Austria, see note at the end of this article.

[2] "*Ireland in* '98. *Sketches of the principal men of the time* based upon the published volumes and some unpublished MSS. of the late Dr. Richard Robert Madden" ed. by J. B. Daly, LL.D. (London: Swan, Sonnenchein, Lowry and Co. 1888).

[3] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1910, Vol. 9, 506-507.

practise as a doctor in Dublin. He was soon well established in the city.

Even at this date MacNeven was interested in scientific matters. Four years after his return to Ireland he published an *Essay on the Construction and Use of a Mine Auger* ("to which are added the description of an earth-borer for country gentlemen and farmers, and an improvement on the well-borer of Mersennus") which he had translated from the German of Geiss.[1] The Preface to this work is dated from "No. 118 Stephen's Green," so that it would appear that MacNeven must have resided there at that date (30 June 1788). In this Preface MacNeven refers to one of the scientific giants of the day, Richard Kirwan, the Irish chemist with whom he was personally acquainted.[2] Kirwan had at this time published his *Elements of Mineralogy* and of it MacNeven says: "A knowledge of the entire is necessary for an intelligent miner." Later in the Preface, he makes reference to the superiority of Germany in scientific studies in comparison with Ireland. He says: "In nothing is it [Germany] so superior to us as in mineralogy and chemistry. There is, however, this in our favour, that beginning at so advanced a period of experimental philosophy, we have their numerous acquisitions as lights to guide and spare us mismanagements and errors, otherwise unavoidable in the infancy and first improvements of every art."[3]

MacNeven was a competent linguist. Brought up in an Irish-speaking home, he spoke fluently Irish, English, German, and French. It is said, too, that he had a working knowledge of Spanish and Italian. In the concluding paragraph of his

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[1] "Translated by W. J. MacNeven, M.D. (member of Royal College of Physicians of London), Dublin. Printed by W. Wilson; No. 6, Dame St., 1788. Inscribed to the Dublin Society" (*i.e.* the R.D.S. later). There is a copy of this work in the National Library, Dublin, which bears the following hand-written note: "Presented to the Dublin Society by the publisher."

[2] A full account of Kirwan's chemical work appears in *Iris* No. 41, Feb. 1930: "Richard Kirwan, an Irish Chemist of the 18th century" by Prof. J. Reilly and N. O'Flynn. More on MacNeven's connection with Kirwan will be found in the Rev. Prof. P. J. McLaughlin's article on Richard Kirwan in STUDIES of March 1940, p. 73.

[3] On page 44 of this little book, MacNeven appends a method for preparing a waterproof and "a most excellent cement" for use in the sinking of wells in mine-boring operations. This is the method he offers: "Quench quick-lime with vinegar; mix with it about one-half of iron filings; take of this mixture a given quantity and add to it half as much fresh cow-dung; work the whole well together and it is fit for use."

Preface to the translation of Geiss's work he says : " German is little known to the literari here, or even in England," and he goes on to quote from Priestley's remarks in the Preface to his history of electricity (2nd edition) : " though it is very necessary we should have persons possessed of a competent knowledge of foreign languages, who should be attentive to the progress of science abroad and communicate to their countrymen all useful discoveries as soon as they are made." MacNeven's abilities as a linguist were later to prove of the greatest service when he was an agent of the United Irishmen on the Continent.

MacNeven soon had more urgent matters to attend to than the translation of a scientific text. As his daughter says in a memoir, " My father was now established in the practice of his profession in Dublin ; with youth, health, superior abilities, and education in his favour, and good family connections, he had a fair and prosperous career opened before him, and he was soon enabled by his practice to live genteely and independently, and to keep with ease his station in society. Had Ireland been in a happier condition or could selfish motives have deadened his love of his unfortunate country, I cannot doubt but that my father would have been greatly eminent in the paths of science and literature ; but a more stormy career was before him."[1]

MacNeven took a keen interest in the emancipation issue and was an active member of the Catholic Committee. He was definitely opposed to Lord Kenmare's leadership on the committee, which he considered too slavish. He supported John Keogh in his opposition to Lord Kenmare's timid policy in the " Back Lane Parliament " of the Catholic Convention of 1792.[2] On this occasion, MacNeven had been selected as a representative of both Galway and Meath. He elected to sit for Meath, as the citizens of Navan had presented him with an address of congratulation earlier on his firm stand against the moderates.

[1] Memoir of William James MacNeven, largely contributed by his daughter, in *The United Irishmen, their Lives and Times* by R. R. Madden, M.D. Second Series, Vol. II, 214-215, 1843.

[2] Robert Dunlop in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

It was MacNeven who originated, at the Convention referred to above, the famous measure to secure the privilege of elective franchise for the "forty-shilling freeholders." Through his efforts the measure was approved by the Convention, and later the petition was approved by the King. The bill giving the franchise to the freeholders became law the following year. It was as a result of this measure that the "forty-shilling freeholders" became such a force in Irish affairs later. The measure may be said to have resulted in the election of Daniel O'Connell for Clare and, subsequently, in Catholic Emancipation.

MacNeven had by this time become a member of the United Irishmen. He had become acquainted with Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor, who had told him of their plans and asked him to join them. The oath was administered to him by the daughter of James Moore, of Thomas Street, the friend of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. MacNeven's daughter, in the memoir already referred to, states that this Miss Moore was both a prominent member of the United Irishmen and a renowned beauty in her day. MacNeven and Miss Moore were great friends, and at one time he is said to have seriously thought of marrying the young lady.[1]

Despite the work which MacNeven was doing prior to 1798 as one of the Directory of the United Irishmen, he continued in his profession as a doctor and increased the circle of his influential friends. One of these was Mrs. Lefanu, sister of Sheridan; another was the Duke Fitz-James, through whom he obtained for his brother Hugh the position of surgeon in the Duke's regiment. This younger brother died a year before the Rebellion of '98.

On the 27 June 1797, when there was some danger of a premature rebellion, MacNeven left Ireland with the object of assisting Edward Lewins, the United Irish plenipotentiary at Paris to secure the immediate intervention of France. When he arrived in Hamburg, under the alias of "Williams," he drew up an elaborate memo on the state of Irish affairs

[1] The *United Irishmen*, R. R. Madden. Second series, 1843, Vol. II, 217.

and on the best methods of effecting an invasion.[1] MacNeven at first intended to go on to Paris and deliver this document himself to the Directory there, but a number of difficulties were raised about his passport and he considered that he was needed at home in Dublin. Consequently the memo was handed to Reinhard, the French minister in Hamburg, to be translated and submitted to Paris. A copy of this document,[2] probably by the agency of Samuel Turner, reached the hands of the English Government, who had MacNeven carefully watched by their secret service on his return from England in October. One of these secret service agents, for instance, reported in the December of 1797 : " MacNeven went for England a few days since in a wherry from Clontarf and was nearly lost ; I suppose he went for Yarmouth. Will you not send after him ? He is a neat little man of 5 feet 4 inches."[3]

On March 12, 1798 MacNeven, with the other leaders of the movement, was arrested and confined in Kilmainham. The prisoners saw with what severity the Rebellion was being crushed and, on the suggestion of Francis Dobbs, they agreed to give a full account of the movement of the United Irishmen to the Government, and accept banishment to any country " at amity with England." On July 29th this offer was accepted, and on August 4th MacNeven, Thomas Addis Emmet, and Arthur O'Connor presented a full statement of the origin and progress of the United Irishmen.[4] This able defence was considered unsatisfactory and was suppressed by the Government.

On August 7th and 8th, MacNeven was examined before

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[1] Webb *Compendium of Irish Biography*, 320-1.

[2] Printed in the *Castlereagh Correspondence*, 295-301. See Lecky, *History of England*, VII, 385, regarding some omissions from this version of the document.

[3] From Pelham MSS., London, Cooke to Pelham, Dec. 26, 1797, quoted in Fitzpatrick's *Secret Service under Pitt*, 357. This work also gives a good account of the means by which MacNeven's memo may have fallen into the hands of the Government. Regarding his personal appearance, there are at least two portraits of MacNeven in existence. The first of these, from an original drawing by Herbert, shows MacNeven as a young man, probably shortly before 1798. It is reproduced in Madden's *United Irishmen*, 2nd Series, Vol. II, opp. p. 209. Another portrait, reproduced both in the 1910 edition of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (Vol. 9, p. 506) and in *Old Chemistries* by E. F. Smith, New York 1927, opp. p. 82, shows MacNeven as a much older man.

[4] This document is given in *Pieces of Irish History, illustrative of the condition of the Catholics of Ireland, of the origin and progress of the political system of the United Irishmen and of their transactions with the Anglo-Irish Government* publ. by W. J. MacNeven. New York 1807, 174-93. It also appears in the " Castlereagh Correspondence," L. 353-72.

secret committees of the Lords and Commons. The official version of his examination was, he claimed, garbled, and he later published an authentic version of it.[1] MacNeven's views on the best means of a foreign invasion of Ireland, on the number of troops that would be required, and on the possibility of a form of "External Association" of Ireland and England under the Crown make absorbing reading to-day. On the conclusion of the examination it had been arranged that MacNeven should be banished to the United States. However, Rufus King, U.S. Minister in London, raised a number of difficulties which prevented this scheme from being carried out. In later dealings in America with this Rufus King, MacNeven referred again to this interference with his passage to the States, which he never forgot.[2]

MacNeven and the other prisoners were removed to Fort George in Scotland in March 1799. While a prisoner there, he translated a number of the writings of Ossian from the original Gaelic. He also made notes of conversations with the Scotch soldiers at the fort regarding old traditions of the early colonization of Scotland by the Irish. At this time, too, MacNeven thought of writing an autobiography and an account of the Rebellion, and prepared notes for that purpose. Later, after his release at the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, when he went to the Continent, he still entertained hopes of writing such a book[3] and for this purpose collected further information on the Rebellion from Irish officers in the French Army.

MacNeven spent the summer and autumn of 1802 on a walking tour in Switzerland, of which he later published an account.[4] He also visited his relatives in Prague. Hopes of a French invasion to free Ireland from the English were still cherished by him, and he is said to have sought an interview with Napoleon in 1803 with regard to the possibility of such an invasion.[5] In this hope he served for two years as a captain

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[1] Included in *Pieces of Irish History*.
[2] Introduction to *Pieces of Irish History*.
[3] *Memoirs of Miles Byrne*, edited by his widow. A new edition with introd. by Stephen Gwynn (Dublin), Vol. II, 313-320.
[4] *A Ramble through Switzerland in the Summer and Autumn of* 1802. Publ. J. Stockdale, Dublin 1803.
[5] Edward Preble in *Dict. Amer. Biog.* Vol. XII, 153-154.

in the Irish Brigade of the French Army. Finally, in 1805, he gave up hope and resigned his commission. In June 1805 he sailed from Bordeaux, and on the 4th of July landed in New York. MacNeven's daughter, writing later of this, remarked: "It was, I think, wonderfully appropriate that one who had suffered so much in the cause of liberty, should have reached the shores of America on the anniversary of her day of freedom."

In New York MacNeven soon established a wide medical practice. In 1807 he gave a course of lectures on clinical medicine in the recently established College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York.[1] The following year he was appointed professor of midwifery there. He also took a keen interest in chemistry and, in the College, set up what is believed to have been the first chemical laboratory in New York. On the re-organization of the College in 1810 he became professor of chemistry. During six years he combined with this post the professorship of materia medica. In 1826 he and six of his colleagues resigned their appointments because of a misunderstanding with the New York Board of Regents. He then accepted the chair of materia medica in Rutger's Medical College, a branch of a New Jersey institute and a rival to the College of Physicians. But after four years this College, which had become very popular, was closed by legal action owing to the inter-state difficulties involved in its operation. The attempt to create a school independent of the Board of Regents had, however, one good result: it brought about a large scale reorganisation of the teaching of chemistry in New York State. But, whatever may have been the reason, MacNeven now abandoned teaching and spent the remainder of his life on medical work.

On the 15 June 1810, MacNeven had married the daughter of a New York merchant, Samuel Ricker. This Samuel Ricker had fought in the Civil War and later had been a Congressman. MacNeven's pleasant life in New York was in strong contrast to his troubled or exciting years in Ireland and on the Continent. Among his friends in New York

[1] In 1806 Columbia College conferred the honorary degree of M.D. on MacNeven.

were the widow of Theobald Wolfe Tone and his son, Captain Tone, as well as the family of Thomas Addis Emmet who had come to America in similar circumstances to MacNeven himself. A son of Thomas Addis—John Patten Emmet—was a student of chemistry under him in New York. He later became professor of natural philosophy in the University of Virginia, and is credited with the invention of original apparatus for the study of magnetism and electricity.[1] MacNeven's step-daughter married another son of Thomas Addis Emmet, and in 1836, when attacked by severe illness, MacNeven gave up his practice and went to live with the couple, some four miles outside New York.

Throughout his career MacNeven maintained a deep interest in Irish affairs. He was the founder (in 1816) of a free labour office in Nassau Street, New York, for Irish Emigrants and was president in 1828 of the " Friends of Ireland " Society—an organisation which cared for the welfare of Irishmen in America. He organised also counterparts of the " Penny Rent " collections for emancipation, and took a keen interest in O'Connell's efforts at home in Ireland.[2]

MacNeven belonged to the democratic party in the U.S., and in 1834 he was attacked, from many quarters and in the public press, for a statement which he made on President Jackson's removal of deposits from the U.S. Bank. This action he criticised as being " unwise and unstatesmanlike." One of his opponents in this episode was Rufus King who in 1798, when American Minister in London, had opposed MacNeven's admission to the United States. For a time, even his own party turned against MacNeven in his anti-Jackson move. Yet he retained his self-possession and singleness of purpose. He was adamant in his devotion to his principles.

MacNeven's most important scientific work was an *Exposition of the Atomic Theory of Chemistry and the Doctrine*

[1] *Science*, 1/3/'40. 204-205. *Three Centuries of Irish Chemists*, ed. D. O Raghallaigh (Cork Univ. Press, 1941).

[2] An account of MacNeven's connection with the *Friends of Ireland* and his rent collection for emancipation was read before the Literary Assoc. of the Friends of Ireland and published in the *New York Truth Teller*, July 1830.

of Definite Proportions.[1] One of the pioneers in the United States in the recognition of Dalton's theory, MacNeven begins this work with an account of what he terms the fundamental laws of chemistry. "It has been known," he says, "ever since chemists acquired the art of analysing bodies that substances enter into chemical combination in determinate proportions." He quotes a number of examples of this and then goes on: "The uniformity of this law depends on some ulterior cause which renders all other combinations impossible . . . . this cause must lie in those elementary particles of matter which are so constituted as to be exempt from decay or change, but they are capable of being variously compounded together and separated again so as to give origin to the perpetual transitions of elementary into organised matter; but the nature of the elements themselves is immutable; the forms only can vary."

After referring to the falseness of alchemical views on the nature of matter, he continues: "An oak of the present time has the same general nature and the same general properties as those of all other oaks that ever existed . . . . The elements of bodies are permanent and unchangeable." These "elements" or ultimate particles or atoms he describes as being "so perfectly hard and minute as never to wear or divide." While stating that the atoms must be indivisible and indestructible, he insists that they must also be simple.

In the chemical combination of different substances, "the *atoms* of those bodies unite together, and this is what causes them to be dispersed through the whole mass." No matter how small a drop of water is taken, he gives as an example, it will have the essential constitution of oxygen and hydrogen. But "the extent of this combination is limited. Thus if a dilute solution of potash be added to an ounce of sulphuric acid, a point is observable at which the potash and acid lose their peculiar characters, the one of turning vegetable blue colours green, the other of making them red, and a liquid is

[1] "With an appendix of chemical exercises by the pupils of the laboratory, etc." This appendix mainly consists of analyses of ores and minerals of the district about New York, and contains a number of analyses carried out by John Patten Emmet while a student of MacNeven's. Publ. New York, 1819. Later reprinted in the French *Annales de Chimie.*

left of a bitter taste which crystallizes in short hexangular prisms." Addition of more potash or more acid does not affect the substance. "This phenomenon was known to the older chemists as saturation. It is now called the law of definite proportions", which MacNeven formulates thus: "The same proportions of base that saturate a given weight of one acid, saturate all the other acids."

Of peculiar interest to Irish chemists was William Higgins, the Irish chemist who formulated the basis of the Atomic Theory twenty years before Dalton.[1] In MacNeven's account of the theory he admits Higgins's priority in some respects, but considers that the credit for the Atomic Theory really belongs to no other than Dalton, for the researches and theories of Higgins were but the loose beginnings of the Atomic Theory which Dalton finally succeeded in drawing together into one logical hypothesis.

In one important matter MacNeven is not in agreement with Dalton. He is not satisfied that hydrogen should be taken as the basis on which to draw up a table of relative weights of the atoms of the elements. He is rather in line with the modern view that oxygen should be taken as the basis of such a table, and outlines a convincing series of arguments in support of his contention.

In 1821 MacNeven decided to publish a general text-book of chemistry for the use of his students. Already he had compiled a number of laboratory guides for their use. He intended, he says, to compile "a class-book that should comprehend, in regular order, the text of what is delivered in lectures and what is expected from the candidate at examination, a thing altogether desirable for professor and student." However, it was not necessary to write an entirely new text. A copy of the second edition of the "Manual of Chemistry" by William Thomas Brande reached his hands; and in MacNeven's own words, "Having perused this well arranged outline of a course of chemistry, I deemed my projected undertaking unnecessary." Instead he prepared an

[1] For full account of this see *William Higgins, a Pioneer of the Atomic Theory*, by Prof. J. Reilly and D. T. MacSweeney, Sc. Proc. R.D.S. Vol. 19, No. 15.

American edition of Brande's book.[1] Parts of the original were omitted by MacNeven, but he copiously annotated the work, making it a very useful text-book for students. The book enjoyed a wide success and, in common with a later American edition,[2] circulated all over the States.

MacNeven was one of the active founders of the New York Athenaeum in 1824. Here he later delivered a series of lectures on agricultural chemistry. The introduction to these lectures, a general survey of applied chemical knowledge, was published later.[3] Besides his works on chemistry there are many general pamphlets and political tracts in MacNeven's name. In a *Statistical Essay on the Population and Resources of Ireland*, which was first published in the Paris *Argus* (December 17, 1803) and later re-printed in New York in 1807, MacNeven compares the taxation imposed on the Irish people with the levy imposed by the United States Government. Quoting liberally from official accounts, he shows in this pamphlet the heavy burden which the English Government imposed on his people.

In 1807 MacNeven published his *Pieces of Irish History*, which gave an account of the growth and origins of the United Irishmen and of the '98 Rebellion.[4] Much of the material embodied in this work had appeared earlier in *Memoire or detailed statement of the origin and progress of the Irish Union, delivered to the Irish Government by Messrs. Emmet, O'Connor, and MacNeven; together with the examination of these gentle-*

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[1] "Manual of Chemistry" by William Thomas Brande. First American from the second London edition, to which are added notes and emendations by William James MacNeven, M.D., Professor of Chemistry in the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the University of the State of New York, 1821.

[2] Published by John White Webster, Erving Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy in Harvard University, in 1828. Webster was a well-known chemical editor and was responsible for American editions of many other European text-books of chemistry.

[3] *Introductory Discourse to a few lectures on the application of Chemistry to Agriculture delivered before the New York Athenaeum in the winter of* 1825. New York 1825.

There are copies of this book and of MacNeven's *Exposition of the Atomic Theory* in the National Library, Dublin. Each of these books bears the following hand-written inscription "Presented with his best respects to Dr. Madden by the Author, Newpark, 25th June 1836." Newpark was the residence of MacNeven's son-in-law outside New York.

[4] "*Pieces of Irish History*, illustrative of the condition of the Catholics of Ireland, of the origin and progress of the political system of the United Irishmen, and of their transactions with the Anglo-Irish government." Published by W. J. MacNeven, New York, 1807.

men before the secret committee of the House of Lords and Commons in the summer of 1798.[1]

Throughout his life MacNeven was a voracious reader of general as well as of scientific works. His daughter said of him: "In the treasures of his mind he found a great resource. Books were to him never-failing friends . . . . he enjoyed, with a wonderful youthfulness of feeling and of fancy, the writings of Sir Walter Scott and Miss Edgeworth; he read the writings of Jefferson, various works on geology, and all the scientific and literary reviews of his day." In later life he read much of theology. While a staunch Catholic all his life, he read of other religious beliefs and "compared the tenets of the different sects more with a view to find points of resemblance than to discover dissimilar opinions," to use the words of his daughter. He was a member of both the American Philosophical Society and the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York. The latter society often met at his residence. Of these meetings a contemporary writer wrote: "All those most eminent in science, arts, and literature, with any distinguished strangers who might be visiting the city, were convened on these occasions and formed indeed a brilliant circle."

The last occasion on which MacNeven spoke in public was when he addressed a public meeting on St. Patrick's Day 1837. In his speech he drew an interesting comparison between the constitutional agitation of O'Connell and the tactics of the United Irishmen a generation before.[2] At this date, as already mentioned, he had retired from practice and was living with his step-daughter and son-in-law outside New York. On November 25, 1840 he paid a visit to the City and on his way home his gig collided with a heavy loaded wagon. MacNeven was thrown from the gig and wounded in the leg. This injury, coupled with the shock of the fall, led to a long and severe illness from which he never recovered. As the summer of 1841 approached, he grew rapidly weaker.

[1] A booklet of 98 pages, published in London in 1802 and "printed for P. Robinson, Paternoster Row."

[2] *The Green Banner*, St. Patrick's Day Festival 1837. Publ. New York, 19 July, 1825. Addressed to the people of Ireland.

When his end drew near, the last rites of the Church were administered by the Right Reverend Bishop Hughes of New York. On 12 July 1841, at the age of seventy-eight years, the veteran United Irishman and "Father of American Chemistry" died. He was interred in the burial-ground of his wife's family, and in St. Paul's Churchyard on lower Broadway stands a tall shaft to his memory. This monument, it is said, is passed daily by more people than the monument of any American scientist. MacNeven is also remembered by a bust in the American-Irish Historical Society's Library at 991 Fifth Avenue.[1]

The *New York Medical Gazette*, in an obituary notice of MacNeven, says: "As a lecturer, he was simple, clear, and animated; as a practitioner, judicious and efficient; as a patriot, ardent, active, bold, disinterested; with him the love of country was a passion as well as a principle, and when that country shall cease to cherish his memory, she will be utterly unworthy of him."[2]

D. Ó Raghallaigh

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[1] *The Journal of the American-Irish Historical Society* gives frequent references in its volumes to MacNeven and his work.

[2] *New York Medical Gazette* Aug. 11, 1841. Appreciation of MacNeven, written by Gilman, p. 65.

NOTE ON THE MACNEVENS IN AUSTRIA

The first member of the MacNeven family to settle on the Continent, so far as is known, was William O'Kelly MacNeven of Aughrim, who left Ireland after the Battle of Aughrim in 1691. He went first to Paris and then, later, entered the Austrian service, in which he rose to high rank—becoming a *comes palatinus* and a Privy Councillor to the Emperor Charles VI. He died in 1751.

This William O'Kelly MacNeven brought out from Ballynahowne his grandnephew, who was a son of William MacNeven and Honora O'Kelly. Born in 1713 and named William after his father, this boy became eventually Court Physician to the Empress Maria Theresa and Baron of the Holy Roman Empire. At his death the following notice appeared in the *Dublin Evening Post* of 3 April 1787: "Last month died at Prague, universally and sincerely regretted, Baron William O'Kelly MacNeven, for twenty years president of the faculty there and physician to the late Empress and present Emperor of Germany. His ability did honour to his native land; his virtues were a credit to human nature." This William MacNeven was an uncle of the United Irishman who is the subject of the foregoing article. He had three daughters and one son.

This son must have been the father of the Baron Louis to whom there is a monument in the Central Cemetery of Ljubljana (Laibach), the capital of Slovenia. According to the inscription he was born at Prague on 16 June 1795 and died at Ljubljana on 14 January 1873. In the revolutionary year of 1848 he was District Captain of Ljubljana and took an active part in trying to pacify the revolutionary peasants who gathered into the city from the surrounding districts.

For the facts contained in this Note we are indebted to Miss Gladys MacNevin (50 Waterloo Road, Dublin), who will be pleased to hear from any reader possessing further knowledge of the MacNevens in Austria.—*Editor.*

PORTUGAL: A DOUBLE CENTENARY

BY THOMAS J. O'DONNELL, S.J.

THE present European tragedy, which is occupying attention to the exclusion of everything else, has caused little notice to be taken of a recent event of historical interest. The Centenary Celebrations in Portugal, which took place during the past year, recall the debt that the world owes to this small nation, which to-day, after a century of misrule, is providing once more a headline for other states. Under the wise guidance of her Prime Minister, Antonio Oliveira Salazar, Portugal has brought order out of chaos in her domestic affairs; and even if still more remains to be achieved, she has nevertheless been able to pause, in her attention to the present and the future, to look back with pardonable pride on the glorious days of her past. The year 1940 witnessed the eighth centenary of her foundation as an independent state and the fourth centenary of her freedom from the Spanish yoke.

The rise of Portugal dates back to the end of the eleventh century, when the land was gradually wrested from the Moors. The decline of the power of Islam in the peninsula had begun with the establishment of the schismatic Caliphate at Cordova; for this was a break in the ranks of the infidel that was symptomatic of a tendency among the ameers for independence. While this tendency was controlled, Cordova remained strong enough to rule over all the lands south of the Lower Duoro and the Guadarrama mountains. Consequently, at the beginning of the eleventh century the Christian kingdoms of Leon and Navarre, as well as the county of Castille, were confined to the extreme north; and from the river Ebro to the Pyrenees there ran a wedge of Moorish territory separating them from the county of Barcelona. While power remained effective in the hands of the Caliph, and the ameers preserved a unity of purpose, the Christians had little hope of recovering their lands.

With the decline of the Caliphate, in the eleventh century, however, and the dismemberment of its territory among the rival ameers, opportunities were created for a Christian reconquest. This was also favoured at the time by the union of the kingdom of Leon with Castille under Ferdinand I, who began the period of definitive expansion. When he had reduced the lands of the Duoro valley, he set up there two new vassal counties that were to form the nucleus of the future Portugal, that of Oporto in the Lower Duoro and that of Coimbra between the Duoro and the Mondego rivers. In 1095 Ferdinand's son, Alfonso VI, united these two under the Burgundian knight, Henry, who had married his daughter Teresa. It is to Henry's son, Alfonso Henriques, however, that the title of Founder of Portugal properly belongs. In 1139 the latter displayed his military qualities by penetrating far into the lands of the Moors beyond the Tagus to win the first of a series of battles against the infidel, the famous battle of Ourique. Then in the following year, 1140, he declared the independence of Portugal from the Crown of Leon and assumed for himself the title of King.

From the beginning, however, Portugal's existence as a free country was assured only at the cost of incessant warfare. It was step by step that the territory which constitutes the modern state was regained from the Moors, and frequent wars were necessary also to avoid absorption in the growing kingdom of Castille. In 1147 the district of the present capital, Lisbon, was won with the assistance of a fleet of English and Germans who were on their way to the second Crusade. But it was not until a century later that the last stronghold of the Moors, Algarve, was recovered—thus defining the limits of the kingdom to what they have remained ever since. The danger from Castille was also finally ended by the Portuguese victory of Aljubarrota in 1385.

The complete conquest of the Portuguese territory in the Peninsula, however, was not enough for this people. Their geographical position in the extreme south-west of Europe and their great stretch of seaboard particularly fitted them for the great adventure that was to give new worlds to Europe

and to usher in the modern age. This period of voyages and discovery marks the second and most glorious period in Portugal's history, for now her people definitely entered the international sphere. Their efforts, which so greatly contributed to the expansion of Christendom and civilisation, had value that was not only national—it was universal. To attribute to mere trade considerations these vast undertakings by so small a country, which at the time was neither overpopulated nor wealthy, would fall short of the truth. That these considerations counted is not to be denied, but the great impulse is to be found rather in the crusading spirit that characterised her leaders. This was the spirit of Portugal's first great explorer, known as Henry the Navigator, who combined the opening of trade routes with the spread of Christianity among the newly discovered peoples. To Prince Henry is due the impulse to follow the West African coast which, in 1441, led Gonçalves and later Nuno Tristam to the Rio de Ouro and Diniz Diaz to the Senegal river. Then, in 1445, the islands of the Azores, which had already been rediscovered by the Genoese, were finally colonised by him; and before his death his followers had reached the Cape Verd Islands, the Gambia river and beyond Cape Roxo to the Rio Grande. Alfonso V, in 1469, rented to Fernan Gomes the Guinea trade on condition that each year he should explore a hundred leagues of coast. This greatly furthered the discoveries and resulted in the achievement of Bartholomeo Diaz, who in 1486 rounded the Cape of Good Hope.

All this was only a prelude to what had been the hope of the Portuguese from the start, namely, the discovery of a sea route to India by which they might capture the trade that had hitherto been enjoyed by the Venetians. Twelve years later this hope was realised when Vasco da Gama, by way of the Cape, reached far off Calicut, the great trading centre on the Malabar coast. Others soon followed his lead—Cabral in 1500 and Albuquerque in 1503; and from that time on Portuguese fleets rounded the Cape each year to gain control of Goa, Ormuz, Diu, Ceylon, Malacca and the spice islands, bringing back from these places and from Sumatra, Java,

Celebes and Nanking precious cargoes of eastern wares. It is interesting to note that a third centenary was celebrated also in 1940 connected with these expeditions, for it was on one of these that St. Francis Xavier, on the 7 April 1540, set out from Lisbon on his great mission to the East.

Yet it was this passion for oversea voyages of discovery, from which many never returned, that led indirectly to Portugal's downfall towards the end of the sixteenth century. Drained of the flower of her manhood, she was in no condition to resist the ambition of Philip II to unite the whole of the peninsula under his own rule. The ill-fated expedition of the young king Sebastian to Morocco, which led to his defeat and death, and the consequent difficulties concerning the right of succession gave Philip his pretext. Married to a Portuguese princess, Philip based his claim to annex the kingdom in 1580 on this right of succession ; and although he preserved the two crowns separate as a dual monarchy, the sixty years of Spanish rule were fatal for the smaller power. Portugal was dragged into all the political conflicts of her neighbour, and her ports were closed to the French, English and Dutch with whom Philip was at war. These enemies were also free to attack her colonies, many of which were annexed by the Dutch ; and Brazil, which had become a Portuguese dominion in 1549, was open to attack from their corsairs and privateers. Resentment was ever at a high pitch against foreign rule, but it was not until 1640 that, assisted by French subsidies, the Portuguese regained their independence and placed the Duke of Braganza on the throne as Joao IV.

Although the centenary celebrations lacked that active participation by other European states which the war had rendered impossible, Portugal itself left little to be desired towards making the commemorations worthy of the events. From the opening *Te Deum*, chanted in all the cathedrals and parish churches of the Portuguese world, to the President's speech that closed the celebrations five months later, there were few days on which some striking commemorative act did not take place. The full and lengthy programme was divided into three main parts to correspond with the main periods of

Portuguese history—the medieval, the imperial and the Braganza or modern periods. Intervening between the imperial and modern periods there was a separate short programme to correspond with the summer vacations.

Opening on the 2 June the medieval period lasted a fortnight, and during that time the nation lived once more the glories of its earliest years. The appropriate atmosphere was created by a series of pageants throughout the whole empire and by medieval fêtes held at Lisbon and Oporto. Official pilgrimages were also organised to such historical sites as were intimately connected with the foundation of the kingdom and with its earliest outstanding events. These included, among others, the tombs of the Burgundian Knight Henry of Portucale and of his wife Dona Teresa in the Cathedral of Braga, and the Castle of Guimaraes, the home of Afonso Henriques and the cradle of the nation. Here special religious and civic ceremonies were held. The memory of Prince Henry the Navigator was recalled by special celebrations at Lagos and Sagres, and an interesting feature of these was the open-air Mass on Sagres rock and the ceremony of the blessing of the sea.

For the commemoration of the imperial period, which lasted a month, there were four outstanding features. These were the Solemn High Mass in the Monastery of the Jeronimos, which had been built as a memorial of the voyage of Vasca da Gama ; the inauguration of the Exhibition of the Portuguese world ; the opening of the nine congresses dealing with Portuguese history, science, pedagogy, and population ; and finally, the colourful pageant of the Portuguese world. The Exhibition, which was the high light of the centenary celebrations, consisted of some twenty-two pavilions grouped into three main sections. The first of these was the historical section displaying in tableau, painting, and an exhibition of original documents the history of the nation through the centuries from its foundation. The colonial section included the Pavilion of the Discoveries with its giant sphere within which were depicted in fiery lines the main routes of the voyages of discovery. Then came the Brazil Pavilion and the Pavilion of Colonisation, whose halls corresponded with the

many lands colonised by the Portuguese. The home section of this exhibition was devoted to Portuguese life in the mother country and presented in miniature the various styles of Portuguese villages with their various home crafts. Of this section a special feature was the children's corner, which was a veritable fairyland of toys and games, with a fun fair providing all the latest novelties.

The events in their national history from the restoration of the kingdom to the present day were commemorated during the third or modern period. To this end there were pilgrimages to the historical sites and battlefields of the seventeenth century, musical and dramatic entertainments and numerous official receptions in various parts of the country. Then special celebrations were held in honour of Brazil, whose delegates occupied the position of honour among the international representatives. One of the very few personal tributes was that rendered to the great Jesuit preacher of the seventeenth century, Father Antonio Vieira, whose sermons rank among the nation's classics. This act of homage took the form of a special session, held in the church of St. Roch, during which there was the reading aloud of one of his famous sermons. Other smaller commemorative acts took place, into a detailed description of which it would be impossible to enter here, and the great centenary celebrations were brought to a close by a *Te Deum* in the Cathedral of Lisbon on 1 December, and on the following day, by another solemn ceremony throughout the Portuguese dominions.

This necessarily very summary description of the celebrations would be misleading did it convey the impression that they were solely concerned with the past, with no thought for the future. There was ample evidence that the authorities had their eyes on the future during the whole of the festivities. President Carmona's New Year address on the radio at the beginning of the centenary year emphasised this aspect of the celebrations : " The celebrations which we are preparing for 1940 will be a great national family party, with the acknowledged aim of increasing our patriotism by the contemplation of the past and of encouraging present generations to be ever

true to the glories of the past . . ." This thought for the future was given more concrete expression in the inauguration of the great international airport at Lisbon, of the National Stadium, and in the opening to traffic of the new Alcantara Bridge. But of far greater importance, still, must rank the centenary Concordat with the Holy See. This is a great stride forward in the direction of the religious restoration at which the government of Salazar has continually aimed.

In his speech to the Chamber of Deputies on the occasion of the ratification of this Concordat, the Prime Minister revealed what his ideal has been since he assumed office: "The thing of the greatest importance which the state has placed before itself is the Catholic formation of the Portuguese people."[1] In an interview to the Press he discussed the state's attitude on the organisation of religious life: "It is frequently asserted that religious problems concern only the conscience of the individual, and that is partially true, since it involves the liberty of conscience of the citizens. Nevertheless, since religious activity demands external expression and reacts on social life, public authority can never ignore those problems that are outside the sphere of the individual conscience and affect other interests in the political and social orders. Such are, for example, the exercise of public worship, ecclesiastical personnel and property, hierarchical instructions to the clergy and faithful, marriage and constitution of the family."[2]

Since the state can in no wise ignore these problems, Salazar suggests two ways in which it might find a solution: by a law within the state which would settle the difficulties, or by an agreement or Concordat with the hierarchical power of the Church. The choice of such means, he asserts, will depend on three considerations: namely, the philosophical principles directing public authority, the predominance of religion in the lives of the majority of the citizens, and national tradition. Speaking on the question of agreement with the Church he says: "We may take it for granted that there are certain questions that can be satisfactorily solved only by agreement. History has shown that the form preferred in a

[1] *Broteria*, Junho 1940, p. 675. [2] *ibid.*, p. 671.

political sense, for many centuries, has been the Concordat and also that, whenever a Concordat has been broken or has failed to be drawn up, the government concerned has ever been faced with the gravest difficulties in no small way detrimental to national interests."[1]

A full and detailed discussion of the religious problem in Portugal would be out of place here ; but some little indication is necessary if the terms of this Concordat are to be appreciated at their proper value.[2] The terms of the 1896 agreement, into which the Holy See was obliged to enter in order to avoid greater evils, give some idea of what previous conditions had been, since it was supposed to mark a decided improvement. By this agreement the bishops were nominated by the government, appointed by Rome, and paid by the state. The parishes were filled by government appointment on the recommendation of these state-bishops, and were managed by a parish council of which the parish priest was chairman. It does not require much thought to realise the conditions resulting from such an arrangement. But worse was to follow. The revolution of 1910 brought back religious persecution, the religious orders were expelled and their property confiscated, marriage was secularised and divorce was legalised.

Salazar gave his own views on this legislation in an interview with the Press : " When relations with the Holy See were cut off, the Law of Separation of 1911 tried to deal with the religious problem by a state law, whose violent terms were an offence not only to the conscience of the great majority of the Portuguese people but to that of all honest men . . . This law, which proved unmanageable, was reduced in a short time to a dead letter, for it could not be applied to a society whose vital forces of the past and of the present rejected it . . ."[3]

The complete failure of this Law of Separation brought about a precarious liberty of conscience, which from time to time was grossly violated, and the religious situation was one

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[1] *ibid.*

[2] For a full treatment of this problem see Father R. S. Devane's articles in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, June, July, November 1937 and January 1938.

[3] *Broteria*, Junho 1940, p. 671.

of the principal problems that faced the founders of the *Estado Novo*. The attitude of mind in which the new legislators faced this problem is revealed in the following statement of the Prime Minister made to the journalists : " There is no principle, not even that of the prestige of public authority, that can admit in a period of national reconstruction any hostility between the spiritual and national interests, which throughout history have ever marched hand in hand. The changes brought about in the international sphere during the past twenty-five years and the threatening aspect, undermining the very social order itself, assumed by antichristian doctrines have caused those responsible for the government of nations to change their political stand, especially on spiritual matters, which are no longer considered causes of dissension but rather as principles of unity and social discipline."[1]

The Constitution of the *Estado Novo*, passed almost unanimously by the plebiscite of 1933, put these principles into practice as far as was possible at the time. Greater strides in the direction of the complete restoration of Catholic principles have been taken in the meantime, and in the centenary year it was felt that the time had arrived to place the legislation on a firmer footing, as well as to come to agreement on the most difficult of the problems involved. The provisions of this Concordat, signed on 7 May 1940, are concerned with three questions : religious liberty, education and marriage, and missionary organisation in the Portuguese oversea dominions.

The articles concerned with religious liberty recognise the juridical status of the Catholic Church as a separate authority from the State, with its right to property and to its own financial arrangements and organisation. The state recognises the right of the Church to such property as was hers in former times. The text of the Concordat on this point is important and reads as follows :—

Art. 6. To the Church in Portugal shall be recognised the right of ownership to all property which previously belonged

[1] *ibid.*, p. 672.

to her and is still in the possession of the State, such as churches, episcopal palaces, parochial residences with their gardens, seminaries with their grounds, buildings of religious institutes, vestments, altar vessels and other objects dedicated to religious worship and to the Catholic religion, except such as have been actually applied to civic use, or have been classified as "national monuments" and as "inalienable property of public interest" . . .[1]

These provisions might have caused fears and anxieties to many who, for a long time, have been in possession of former church property, but the position was clarified by the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon, whose interpretation enabled the committee set up by the Corporative Chamber to allay all fears. The Cardinal Patriarch summed up the situation thus :—

"If anyone should ask what will be the effect of the Concordat on the State Treasury, we answer: *none whatever.* We shall receive neither a subsidy for public worship nor indemnification of any sort. The Church in Portugal shall continue to exist exclusively on the alms of the faithful."[2]

The second main division begins with the question of education. This is a matter on which Salazar has hitherto proceeded slowly, but with great determination. Nowhere, perhaps, has his attack on the principles of Liberalism been more apparent than here ; and while great changes were not to be expected at the start, each year has seen a further stride towards an education more in conformity with traditional Catholic doctrine. The terms, therefore, of the Concordat, which give the Church equal rights with the State in the setting up of schools and hands over to her the entire supervision of religious instruction, are merely the crowning achievement of the Government of the *Estado Novo.*

Marriage and divorce are questions on which the greatest tact has been necessary, since many who are now the firmest supporters of the government had availed themselves of the

[1] These extracts from the Concordat are the writer's translations from the text published in *Diario das Sessoes* of the National Assembly, Supplement to No. 88, 23d May 1940.

[2] *Broteria,* Junho 1940, p. 655.

former divorce laws. The terms of the Concordat read like a compromise, but are really more far-reaching than would appear at first sight. One of the articles reads :—

Art. 24. In accordance with the essence of Catholic marriage, it shall be understood that, by the very fact of the canonical celebration of marriage, the parties shall renounce the power to seek divorce, which on that account cannot be granted by the civil courts to Catholic marriage.

When on two previous occasions Bills to abolish divorce were introduced by members of the legislature[1] and on each occasion were reported on unfavourably by those appointed to examine them, the Corporative Chamber gave its opinion on the question as follows :—" Having examined the question of the indissolubility of marriage in the light of principles, we declared ourselves, last year, openly and firmly on the side of the doctrine of indissolubility . . . . The concept of the free marriage contract—offspring of the depraved individualist philosophy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—is worn out and ought to be replaced by the concept of marriage-institution, which alone is its proper basis."[2]

The members further declared that the rejection of divorce was a necessary corollary of that constitutional principle which proclaimed the family the social unit, the basis of the politico-juridical organisation of the nation. " From the moment when our Constitution of 1933 declared the family as the social unit *par excellence*, proclaiming that the state would see to its protection as the source of the preservation and development of the race and as the primary basis of education, discipline and social harmony . . . from that moment the principle of divorce was condemned as the destructive element it is of that very social organism."[3] Yet it was not possible, for reasons of expediency, to reject divorce completely, as the Government would have wished. The terms of the Concordat, however, reduce its evil effects to the minimum, since only an insignificant fraction of the marriages are purely civil.

The third main division of this Concordat, namely, the

[1] In 1935 by Dr. Braga da Cruz ; and in 1936 by Doctors Gonçalves and Cortez.
[2] *Broteria*, Junho 1940, p. 660.
[3] *ibid.*, p. 661.

part devoted to the foreign missions, makes it unique, since it is the first Concordat to make any such provision. This section provides for the reorganisation, as far as possible, of the missionary districts according to the limits of the administrative districts. It grants juridical personality to all missionary dioceses and institutes established on Portuguese soil. Superiors of these missions must be of Portuguese nationality, and where suitable candidates are wanting, other missionaries may be appointed by agreement both with the Holy See and with the Government. All missionaries, whether of Portuguese nationality or not, shall be subject to the ordinary jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese where they work. These provisions were further amplified by the Missionary Agreement, which formed a separate document, but this merely included the definition in greater detail of ways and means for the carrying out of the provisions of the Concordat—*v.g.*, official recognition of missionary schools ; travelling expenses to missionary personnel (bishops, priests, nuns and brothers) ; free treatment for missionaries in State hospitals . . .

The signing of this Concordat is the best evidence of the progress in Portugal of Catholic doctrine in State matters under the wise direction of Antonio Oliviera Salazar. He has been the leader in all this work of reconstruction ; and although hiding his hand to a great extent at the start, for reasons of expediency, he is gradually coming into the open as he gains the confidence of his people. That he has gained this confidence has been recently demonstrated by the decision of the Portuguese to dedicate a day of national homage to him as the saviour of his country. This great manifestation of loyalty and gratitude to the man who raised Portugal out of the political and economic quagmire into which she had fallen, took place on Monday, 29 April. That his worth has been recognised abroad also was shown when a delegation from Oxford University travelled to Coimbra to confer on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law on April 19th. The speeches on this occasion referred to Dr. Salazar as one of those rare scholars who had brought their learning from the cool shades of the cloister into the dust and heat of the arena.

He was, they declared, a statesman no less than a savant, and as both was pre-eminent. As a result of his efforts the Portuguese nation was presenting to the world a pattern of peaceful culture and, above all, of a true religious life, and Dr. Salazar was to-day pointing out to other nations the only way by which the true happiness of a state could be achieved.

Salazar, replying in Latin, said that he, too, recognized the gulf that sometimes existed between the world of learning and the world of practical affairs, and his great regret was that he had not learned more, so that he might err less and understand better how to lead the nation whose destinies had been placed in his hands at so confused and difficult a time. There was another obligation, he said, on those who governed—to be essentially moral. When one saw the world afflicted with such a catastrophe as that of to-day, which threatened to destroy all that one thought was deathless, men of learning were tormented by doubts lest their work should all prove useless. It was true that the world was changing before our eyes in many aspects ; yet it was also true that, though everything changed, nothing changed less than man himself. This meant that, when the storm was past, it would be to the spirit and its values that the peoples would look to heal their wounds and establish the conditions of peaceful life. " My last words, therefore, are of confidence in the things of the spirit which, in a manner, are honoured in this ceremony." (*Times*, 21 April 1941).

To anyone who has studied the work of Antonio Oliviera Salazar it must be obvious that herein lies the great secret of his achievement against heavy odds, *confidence in the things of the spirit.* What he has practised himself he has tried also to impart to his people, and his success may be judged by the wonderful regeneration that has taken place in his country. The present Holy Father, recognising his work and its culmination in the Centenary Celebrations, said of him last October : " The Lord has given to Portugal a chief who has won for himself the love of his people, especially of his poorer people, and the respect of the whole world. All credit to him."

THOMAS J. O'DONNELL

POPULAR EDUCATION AND THE GAELIC TRADITION IN NORTH-EAST ULSTER

BY DAVID KENNEDY, M.SC., H.DIP.ED.

THE Treaty of Limerick marked the end of an epoch in culture as in politics. With the flight of the Wild Geese the Gaelic poets and scholars lost the protection and hospitality of the native aristocracy, but still the people, though dispossessed of their lands, though rack-rented and persecuted, managed to carry on the tradition of learning, and in the hedge schools of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries scholarship flourished. By 1860 it had almost entirely disappeared.

The Ascendancy Party, unable to deny the existence of the hedge schools and unable to entice the children away from them, fostered a legend of dissolute schoolmasters, filthy schools and idle scholars, and under cover of this screen foisted on the people a so called "National" system of education—a system fettered to the utilitarian philosophy of the Industrial Revolution—and so starved to death a truly national and popular tradition of education. Within recent years Irish scholars have shown how untrue this legend was. In *The Hidden Ireland* Daniel Corkery, using his profound and exact knowledge of the Gaelic literature of the period as a basis, has recreated imaginatively the secret heart of the people where poetry lived its lonely and harassed life. More recently Rev. Dr. Brenan, Professor of Education, Maynooth College, in his *Schools of Kildare and Leighlin* and Dr. Dowling in his *Hedge Schools* have produced abundant and well substantiated evidence of the extent of the work done in these schools: evidence that refutes conclusively the official legend.

In 1685 Erasmus Smith, the Cromwellian planter, had written to the governors of his educational Trust: "My Lords, my designe is not to reflect upon any, onely I give my

judgement why those Schooles are so consumptive, which was and is and will be (if not prevented) the many Popish Schooles their neighbours, which as succers do starve the tree . . . . " And his plaintive appeal must often have been on the lips of State officials in Ireland during the following century. The Penal Laws of 1695, re-enacted in 1703 and 1704, did not presume a Popish schoolmaster to exist, yet the Protestant Bishop of Killala stated in a report to the Irish House of Lords in 1731 that in his diocese " the Popish Schools are so numerous, that a Protestant Schoolmaster cannot get bread." Returns from the Province of Armagh at the same time show that there were there 157 Catholic schools in existence, made up as follows :

Armagh	40	Derry	0
Meath	41	Dromore	6
Clogher	13	Down	4
Raphoe	4	Kilmore and Ardagh	49

so that even in Ulster, " that part of Ireland which is best planted with Protestants and where Popery is thought to be in the most languishing condition,"[1] there were many Catholic schools, and the numbers given represent but a fraction of the real total. For example, the report on Derry states : " There are not any popish schools. Sometimes a straggling schoolmaster sets up in some of ye mountainous parts of parishes, but upon being threatened, as they constantly are, with a Warrant, they generally think proper to withdraw."[2] Yet there is abundant evidence to show that in the mountainous parts of Derry the Catholic tradition of popular education was as strong as, if not stronger than, in any other part of the country. No returns are given for the diocese of Connor, yet there were Catholic schools in the Glens of Antrim and around the N.E. shores of Lough Neagh, where there were strong Catholic parishes.

It is probable that in Antrim and Derry Catholics took

[1] Reports of Lords' Committees on the present state of Popery in this Kingdom. Proceedings of Irish House of Lords. 1731.

2. Reports of Bishops of the Established Church to the House of Lords. Quoted in Corcoran : *Education Systems in Ireland.* Dublin, 1928, p. 40.

more pains to conceal their schools. It is possible, too, that when the Bishop of Derry stated that there were no Catholic schools in his diocese he meant that there were no Catholic schoolhouses. But a schoolhouse was not an essential part of this nation-wide system of popular education. In fact, the immobility of bricks and mortar would have been a definite disadvantage in face of persecution, and the Bishop's account of itinerant schoolmasters who could move immediately danger threatened shows the guerilla technique which was a feature of the system in operation.

A hospitable farmhouse might become a schoolhouse for the winter months. In return for bread and board and accommodation for his scholars, the schoolmaster would give free tuition to his host's family. In one of the Antrim glens, near Carnlough, there is a farmhouse still known as "The College" which local tradition says was the home of such a school. Again, an account of education in the parish of Glenavy, Co Antrim, states[1]: "The schools are either established or temporary; the former are kept in houses built for the purpose by the inhabitants, the latter in barns, by itinerant teachers, in the summer season." Often in summer, however, from choice as much as from necessity, the school would meet in the open air, sheltering from the sun or the rain under a tree or hedge. Hence came the name "Hedge Schools."

In South Ulster the names of Peader O Doirnín, Pádraig Mac Ghiolla Fhionndain, Peadar O Dalaigh, Muiris O Gorman, Peadar O Gealachain, Fiachra Mac Bradaigh, all of them Gaelic poets and schoolmasters, testify to the virility of the Gaelic tradition in this area. These men were the successors of the bardic schools, and they carried on the Gaelic tradition. The Irish chieftains who had been the protectors of the bards were scattered, but their places were taken in many cases by the Catholic bishops. A Gaelic poem[2] on Domhnall Mac Ciagh, Easpog Dúin (1671–1673), refers to him as "the protector of poets," "the fountain rich in literary streams,"

[1] W. S. Mason: *A Statistical Account or Parochial Survey of Ireland.* Dublin, 1814–19, vol. 2, p. 251.

[2] Quoted in *Down and Connor Historical Society's Journal*, vol. 3, 1930.

"the Scotus of literary investigations." Of him Blessed Oliver Plunkett wrote[1]:—

> On the vigil of Christmas, Mgr. Daniel Makey, Bishop of Down and Connor, most perfectly obeyed the last edict [an edict ordering all Catholic bishops and priests to quit the kingdom before a certain date] and departed not only from Ireland, but also from the world to enjoy now, as we hope, a country and a kingdom where he will be free from the Parliament of England and its edicts. He was a good theologian, educated in Spain, and chaplain for many years to Don Pedro of Aragon. At his death he had no more than thirty-five bajocchi (eighteenpence), so that to have even a private funeral it was necessary to sell a part of his goods.

Some of the bards themselves entered religion. Dr. Robin Flower mentions[2] Giollabridghe O hEoghusa, a member of a bardic family attached to the Maguires of Fermanagh, as "a representative instance of the tendency of the old literary families to enter religion and to put their art into the service of their new calling." Some, alas, forsook the old faith or sold their talents to the proselytisers, and of these Peadar O Dalaigh wrote[3]:—

> In teaching the young our old mother tongue,
> At least I may venture to mention
> I'm better than some who greedily thumb
> The Bible-Society Pension.

But the Gaelic tradition was not confined to South Ulster. Even Co. Antrim, perhaps the most Protestant of the Ulster counties, took its place in the national scheme of popular education. Perhaps the most outstanding hedge schoolmaster in the county was Henry Mulholland who, "being designed for the priesthood, received a liberal education; but failing to enter into holy orders, he became master of a grammar school and, towards the close of the last century [ca. 1790], followed his vocation in the now obliterated village of Edenduffcarrick, on the confines of Drummaul and Antrim."[4] The family to

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[1] O'Laverty: *Diocese of Down and Connor: The Bishops.*
[2] Flower: *Catalogue of Irish MSS. in the British Museum.*
[3] Ibid.
[4] Reeves: *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down and Connor and Dromore.* For a complete account of this bell see the same author's *Historical and Descriptive Memoir of the Clog an Edachta* . . . . Dublin, 1877.

which he belonged had been since the eleventh century the traditional keepers of St. Patrick's bell and its shrine—Clog an Edachta—and after Henry's death the bell passed into the hands of one of his former pupils, a Mr. McLean, and eventually found its way to the Royal Irish Academy.

There is further evidence of links with Gaelic Ireland in this county. For example, Edward Bunting, the famous collector of Irish airs, records[1] that he obtained the words of the "Lamentation of Deirdre over the Sons of Usnach" from a native of Murlough, Co. Antrim—and, we may add, only a few miles distant from the traditional landing place of the Sons of Usnach, still known as Carraig Usnaigh. A friend of Bunting's, Dr. James MacDonnell, the organiser of the Belfast Harp Festival of 1792, went with his brothers "to learn what Horace calls the *elementa prima* in a school held in one of the Red Bay caves by Maurice Traynor, a very remarkable man, unrivalled in all the country round as a teacher, who in those days [ca. 1770] might have been transported for teaching the three boys to read. He was a Roman Catholic . . . ." [2]

These examples might be multiplied even in Co. Antrim, but enough has been said to bring that county into line with the main current of Gaelic tradition. The system which produced these schools will be seen more fully at work in the Co. Derry, and a considerable body of evidence is here presented relating to that county. In the main it gives the findings of (1) a clergyman of the Established Church, the Rev. Alexander Ross, Rector of Dungiven; (2) a renowned Gaelic scholar, Dr. John O'Donovan; and (3) a Presbyterian clergyman, the Rev. Henry Cooke, D.D. It shows the schools teaching Classics and Mathematics through two vernaculars—Irish and English; it shows the schoolmasters as the custodians of local history and tradition; it shows Gaelic humanism at its best and yet no better than in many another county; and in it the two intertwined strands of Irish and Catholic

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[1] Bunting: *The Ancient Music of Ireland* . . . . Dublin, 1840.

[2] Letter from Dr. John MacDonnell quoted in Benn's *History of Belfast*, 1799–1810, p. 160, vol. 2.

culture may be traced back from the nineteenth century to the remote age of the great monastic schools.

Describing the people of his parish—Dungiven—the Rev. Mr. Ross wrote[1] :—

> The natural genius of this country may be said to be divided by the same line as its occupations and languages ; but as in the former case the superiority of the Scotch was manifest, so in this the advantages are altogether on the side of the native Irish. The inhabitants of the lowlands are, in general, an educated people, that is, they can all almost read and write, and understand a little of arithmetic ; but it is very rare to meet among them any traces of remarkable talent, either for writing or conversation. Among these, prudence and good sense predominate rather than literary taste and lively fancy ; but in the mountains, where education does not so generally prevail, the few who receive any kind of instruction surmount, by ardent zeal and persevering talent, every obstacle to knowledge, and often arrive at attainments in literature of which their wealthier and more favoured neighbours never dream. They have more peculiarly a taste for and a facility in acquiring languages which is very remarkable ; every one who converses with a mountaineer acquainted with the English language, must be struck with the singular precision and eloquence of his expressions, which have rather the air of a written than a colloquial style . . . . Even in the wildest districts it is not unusual to meet with good classical scholars ; and there are several young mountaineers of the writer's acquaintance whose knowledge and taste in the Latin poets might put to the blush many who have all the advantages of established schools and regular instruction. As a specimen of native talent we shall subjoin here an imitation of the first Ode of Horace, which, without considering the circumstances of the author, may be esteemed as no mean attempt at accurate poetic translation. It was composed by a mountain lad before the age of 18 . . . . [Follows] The First Ode of Horace, Addressed to Maecenas. Imitated in English by Paul MacLoskie, of Crebarky . . . .

This is a substantial account of the situation in this parish. It shows a remarkable standard of attainment in Latin and in English and hints at the probable method of instruction in each—by translation from one into the other—a method well-known and commonly used by hedge-schoolmasters all over Ireland. It draws, too, a definite line of demarcation between

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[1] Mason : *Op. cit.* vol. 1, pp. 313–329.

the native schools and those of the planters in the more fertile lowlands. Further evidence on this last point is provided.

> There is as yet no public or endowed school in the parish of Dungiven . . . . There are, however, private schools in almost every townland, which are kept in general by the native Irish, who, having pursued their taste for literature, as before mentioned, can afterwards find no other employments for their talents or acquirements.
>
> The school more immediately under the incumbent's inspection in Termeel is almost the only one in the parish which has a Protestant teacher.

From this it is clear that the Catholics provided teaching power not only for their own schools but also for those of their Protestant neighbours. This was also the case elsewhere in the county, as will be seen from Dr. Cooke's evidence presented later. The credit for the superior achievements of the Irish scholars compared with the planters' children, which the Rev. Mr. Ross ascribes to the native temperament, may perhaps be shared with the bilingual system of education pursued in the native schools ; for the native tongue was not forgotten. Irish, even Old Irish, was studied with critical scholarship and the bardic tales were the objects of popular enthusiasm. The Rev. Mr. Ross continues :—

> The poems attributed to Ossian and other bardic remains are still repeated here by the old Seanachies (as they are called) with visible exultation. Eight of these have been written down, at my request, by a young mountaineer named Bernard MacLoskie, from whose acquaintance with the native traditions, customs and language, the writer derived much assistance in this survey : he is himself a good Latin scholar and possesses, by every account, a critical knowledge of the ancient Irish . . . . The manner of preserving the accuracy of tradition is singular and worthy of notice. In the winter evenings a number of Seanachies frequently meet together and recite alternately their traditional stories. If any one repeats a passage which appears to another to be incorrect, he is immediately stopped, when each gives a reason for his way of reciting the passage ; the dispute is then referred to a vote of the meeting, and the decision of the majority becomes imperative on the subject for the future.

The name MacLoskie mentioned twice by the Rev. Mr. Ross is worth noting here, for it turns up again in Dr. O'Donovan's notes on Gaelic traditions in the county. Dr.

O'Donovan came to Derry in 1834, twenty years after the Rev. Mr. Ross's survey was published. The following extracts from his letters[1] on the subject of Irish culture then extant, or within the memory of persons then living, are worth noting.

CLADY, August 11th, 1834.

They cannot recite any of Ossian's poems [in this neighbourhood] except odd lines here and there. These they have not from a succession of oral traditions but from hearing old men (Irish scholars now dead) read them out of MSS. now decayed or lost.

LONDONDERRY, Tuesday, August 12th.

Some time ago in these glens [Dungiven] there were Irish scholars whose principal amusement was to read over at their fireside on Winter evenings tales and poems concerning the exploits of Finn and his Fians.

NEWTOWN LIMAVADDY, August 16th, 1834.

This song [a Gaelic poem which he has just quoted] is frequently sung in the Glen. It was composed by a man of the name of James Feary, who is remembered by the old poeple to have been a great poem-maker of great satiric powers.

MAGHERA, August 22nd, 1834.

[He visits Brian Mann O'Mullan, last chief of the O'Mullan's, living in a small cabin in the mountains.]

Brian reads Irish well, but he lent and lost all his manuscripts except one, which is a treatise on Divinity, an explanation of the articles of faith contained in the Creed, etc. . . . . He lamented that he had not the house of his ancestors to receive me with the hospitality that should be expected from the chief of his name.

MAGHERA, August 27th, 1834.

I called upon John O'Crilly of Ballynian in the parish of Tamlaght O'Crilly . . . . He is a very civil and intelligent man, and an Irish reader; he was able to tell me the Irish names of all the townlands in Tamlaght O'Crilly, and has thrown great light upon many topographical words.

MAGHERA, Sunday, September 7th, 1834.

I send you the originals and translations of two short Gaelic poems written from Spain about 100 years ago by two of the Brollaghans.

[1] O'Donovan: *Ordnance Survey Letters.* Londonderry.

Draperstown-Cross, Tuesday, September 16th, 1834.

Irish is the language of this parish. The children play, think, and box in Irish!

Draperstown-Cross, September 22nd, 1834.

I have met in the Townland of Labby an old man of the gifted tribe of the O'Brollaghan's who knows more about the traditions of Derry than all the rest put together. He is a mason by trade and has travelled much thro' the district.

Maghera, Sunday, October 6th, 1834.

I called to see Donogh Roe McKenna, aged 91, who was the best Irish scholar in the North.

The following extracts give the names of some schoolmasters with something of their attainments. One, Mr. John McCloskey, is described as "a man of vast erudition"—a remarkable tribute from a scholar of O'Donovan's reputation and, judging from the evidence presented, apparently well-deserved. It will be noted that another, Mr. Patrick O'Hagan, is held, in popular estimation, to be superior to McCloskey. O'Donovan, while not concurring with the popular verdict as far as Classics are concerned, admits O'Hagan's superiority in Mathematics :—

Maghera, August 24th, 1834.

I had Mr. John McCloskey here all day; he is a sensible, clever and worthy man, universally liked and respected by all classes. He has lent me Statistical Accounts of the Parishes of Dungiven, Banagher, Bovevagh, Desertmartin, Kil-Cronaghan and Ballynascreen, [written by himself] and promises to give us every assistance in his power . . . . He is a man of vast erudition and a *rara avis.*

Maghera, September 5th, 1834.

I went to see a Mr. Bradley, a schoolmaster, who lives near this town . . . . He says that he has some of the writings of his ecclesiastical relatives. [These were the Gaelic poems by the O'Brollaghans mentioned above.] . . . . He will bring the MSS. with him.

Draperstown-Cross, Tuesday, September 16th, 1834.

I met yesterday one of the name [Maguiggan] who . . . . from reading Don Quixote, the Seven Champions of Christendom, and other books treating of Knight Errantry has undertaken to perform

the most surprising feats, and thinks he has exceeded any knight or hero that ever appeared in this world. His life has been very ably written in the style of Don Quixote by Henry John O'Hagan, a classical teacher who taught for some time in Ballynascreen, but who is now in America.

MONEYMORE, September 29th, 1834.

The O'Hagan's however are a fine race of men and whenever they apply themselves to literature they become very clever. I met a Patrick O'Hagan at Newtown Limavady, a classical teacher who is acknowledged to be the best scholar in the Co. Derry. I would except McCloskey in classics, but O'Hagan is superior to him in the knowledge of mathematical science.

MAGHERA, October 8th, 1834.

Mr. John McCloskey, the Classical teacher, stopped with me last Sunday night. I subjected our translation of the Latin Inquisitions to his criticism and he was not only able to explain all the difficult phrases, but also intimately acquainted with the lands mentioned in them.

Although Dr. O'Donovan described McCloskey, in the letter written after their first meeting, as " a *rara avis*," it is probable that he would have revised this verdict before leaving the county. The evidence concerning the other teachers—only a fraction of which has been reproduced here—shows a comparable standard of attainment and shows that, while McCloskey may have been pre-eminent, he was not an isolated phenomenon. Besides, the fact that an outstanding scholar existed in the county may be taken as evidence of a widespread body of general culture, for scholars do not grow *in vacuo ;* they are sustained spiritually as well as materially by popular appreciation. But there is a definite clue as to why the McCloskeys were pre-eminent : a clue found in the records of the plantation of Ulster.

In 1609 the Commissioners of Plantation reached Limavady on their survey of lands available for plantation. One of the questions they had to decide concerned the ownership of " erenagh " lands.[1] To settle the question an expert jury was called, among them a McCloskey. The jurors were Manus

[1] These were church lands in the custody of stewards or erenaghs which had gradually come to be regarded as the property of the erenaghs, though their title was disputed.

McEvally, John O'Henry, Fardoragh O'Mullane, Richard McOwen O'Cahan, Owen McCawell, Patricke McRedy, Rorie McAnalle, Owen Groom McGilligane, Gillduffe Oge O'Mullane, Dermot O'Chane, James O'Mullane, Gillduffe McHerenagh McCloskie, William McAtagairt, Patrick Oge McEtegart, Maurice McCawell. Of them Sir John Davies wrote[1]: "They [the Commissioners] are now in the county of Coleraine, which contains O'Chane's fruitful country . . . . For the distinction of church lands in this county they had a jury of clerks or scholars; for the jurors, being fifteen in number, thirteen spake good Latin, and very readily." And again, the first Protestant bishop of Derry, writing at the same time, states:[2] "The tenents of the Churchlands are called Eirenaci, Corbani, or Termoners, and are all for the most part schollers and speake Latin, and anciently the chief tenents were the determiners of all civill questions and controversies among their nyghbors . . . ."

The name McHerenagh McCloskie suggests that the McCloskies were erenaghs and suggests also the origin of the family tradition of scholarship which amazed the Rev. Mr. Ross and Dr. John O'Donovan in the 19th century. It is a tradition with its roots in the early Irish church and bearing fruit even to the present day, and that in Doire Columcille arrogantly renamed Londonderry by the Drapers, Skinners and Grocers of the City of London. A recent history of the Plantation of Derry[3] enumerates five forces "at work that were fatal to the continuance of the old Gaelic Ulster." But when Dr. O'Donovan's evidence concerning a McCloskey's scholarship in 1834 is compared with Sir John Davies' testimony on the same point in 1609 the astounding virility of the Irish cultural tradition is revealed. When this liberal and national tradition of education is compared with the repressive and restrictive English system which strove to replace it, it becomes clear that Erasmus Smith was indulging in wishful thinking when he compared the Irish schools to "succers" battening on the English "tree": a pathetic misapprehension which still distorts the outlook of his spiritual descendants.

[1] Hill: *Plantation of Ulster.*
[2] Colby: *Ordnance Survey of the County of Londonderry.* Dublin, 1837, vol. 1, p. 53.
[3] Moody: *The Londonderry Plantation.* Belfast, 1939.

Finally, the evidence of the Rev. Henry Cooke, D.D., shows in some detail the educational system which kept alive this tradition at work in the county Derry. Henry Cooke was born at Grillagh near Maghera in 1788 and attended various schools in that neighbourhood until 1804, when he went to Glasgow University. An excerpt from the evidence he gave before the Royal Commission on Education in Ireland (1825) is here presented :—

As a boy did you receive your education in Ireland ? Yes, altogether ; I went to Scotland at 14, and was there four sessions of College . . . .

Had you acquired any classical learning before you went there ? Yes . . . . It may not be out of the way to mention that before we can enter the University, we must have read a certain course and have been examined by the Presbytery . . . . viz. Sallust, Cicero de Officiis, Virgil, Horace, Greek Testament, Homer's Iliad, and Xenophon's Cyropaedia.

What schools had you been at in Ireland, where you had acquired any classical knowledge ?

It would be impossible to name them except by the townlands where they were kept. I learnt Classics in Ireland with three individuals ; the first was a Roman Catholic young priest, the second a Presbyterian probationer, the third had been educated for a Roman Catholic priest, but chose to marry a wife and become a schoolmaster.

Were the schools in Ireland in which you were educated in your boyhood numerous ?

Yes, a very considerable number . . .

From what number on the whole do you consider you had received instruction ?

At least six . . . . Three of them were classical teachers.

In what counties were the schools ?

In the county of Derry.

Were you at school anywhere but in Derry ?

Not in any other county.

This shows how widespread were the popular schools. It confirms Mr. Ross's evidence about Catholic teachers, and it gives a sample of the course read in Classics. In a speech made at a public dinner in Belfast in 1837 Henry Cooke recalled his schooldays in these words[1]:—

I had once a Roman Catholic companion and I can testify that, though loaded with satchel and ornamented with shining morning

[1] Belfast Newsletter, October 27th, 1837.

face, we never crept like snail unwillingly to school. He was my senior, nominally my chum but really my teacher . . . . We were accustomed to return from school together. And in Summer we reclined among the purple heath, and the music of the bee was around us while we tended the peaceful flocks with Virgil or fought again the battles of Homer. But when the weather was cold we deserted the open heath and took refuge under a wide spreading hawthorn. It was not a pigmy bush; it was a lovely tree, vast and umbrageous, the growth of centuries. No matter from what point the wind blew, it furnished us a welcome and a shelter. Years rolled away, but I never forgot our rural study, for it was united with every classical recollection that still adhered to memory.

That must be one of the most eloquent tributes ever paid to the hedge school. How admirably it reflects the imponderables of education—the gifts of the spirit which cannot be measured in terms of Vita glass, asbestos roofs, and £. s. d., those statistical subjects so dear to the heart of bureaucracy. When this speech was made the National Board had been in operation for five years, and before long the small classical and mathematical schools of the countryside had disappeared. In spite of assiduous government propaganda, maligning the old schools and heralding the new, the people realised what they were losing and many placed their protests on record. In 1867, after thirty-five years of National Education, the people of Newtownstewart, Co. Tyrone, addressed a memorial[1] to the Commissioners of National Education. Here is an extract from it :—

We forward a list of more than 20 teachers who have actually imparted classical instruction, since the year 1800, in different parts of this parish, in Newtownstewart, Lisnatunny, Douglas, Ardstraw Bridge, Crew Bridge, Dreguish, Magheracriggan, Ergenagh or Clare . . . . At present, with some 25 National Schools in the parish, there is no classical or other superior education whatever . . . . There *was* this avenue, not alien to national aptitude or taste and not unconsecrated by some national tradition. Is it reasonable, we ask again, that it should be closed by a Board of Education ?

Again, here is a statement of W. J. C. Allen, Secretary to the Royal Belfast Academical Institution[2]:—

During the long period that the Institution was a *quasi* College—more than thirty years—the endowed schools of Ireland only sent to

[1] Quoted in Corcoran : *Loc. cit.* pp. 182–183.
[2] Evidence given before the Endowed Schools Commission, 1857.

the collegiate department either 10 or 11 pupils. All the rest of the students, numbering nearly 2,000, came either from the schools of the Institution itself or from intermediate schools in the country, which have now almost entirely disappeared . . . . The national schools have taken the large mass of the pupils that attended the masters of these schools, who were thereby enabled to earn a livelihood; and classical and mathematical pupils are not raised up in the country in the way they were before.

Finally, the Rev. D. Moriarty, D.D., President of All Hallows, giving evidence before a Royal Commission[1] in 1855, told a sorrowful tale of the fate of the hedge schoolmasters. He said :—

The means and opportunities of procuring preparatory education are less than they were some years ago. The famine nearly eliminated classical education; and the better class of farmers, who used to procure such education for their children, has been broken down or has emigrated. The smaller classical schools are nearly all gone; the masters were in many instances obliged to take refuge in the poor house or on the public works.

But though the Hedge Schools vanished, their spirit lived on in some of the National Teachers who continued to give instruction in Classics and Mathematics outside school hours. Officially, however, Northern Ireland has turned its back on the Gaelic tradition, and to-day there are times when even the Nationalist minority there wonders if after all it may not have more in common with its fellow-citizens of Scottish descent than with the Gaels of Kerry and Clare. That is a mood that overwhelms us at times when weariness overtakes the mind tired of political ostracism and denied its rightful outlet for self-expression. At these times it is well for us, therefore, to remember that we have common traditions with the South and that in this very field of education, as in most other activities of the national spirit, we have a record that equals, if it does not surpass, that of any other province of Ireland.

DAVID KENNEDY

[1] Evidence given before the Maynooth College Commission, 1855.

RAINER MARIA RILKE *

BY PROFESSOR MARY M. MACKEN, M.A.

RILKE, who died in 1926 at the age of 51, looks like leaving all contemporary and many of Germany's older poets far behind him in the speculative interest that he arouses. Hans Galinsky in a publication of the year 1938 " Deutsche Akademie : Schriften der Länderausschüsse " (Band 2) entitled *Deutsches Schrifttum der Gegenwart in der englischen Kritik der Nach-kriegszeit* (1919-1935) devotes ninety pages to an examination of the repercussions of Rilke on the English-speaking world. This examination deals with the numerous translations as well as with commentaries on and summaries of the poetry of the German Bohemian whom Englishmen somewhat erroneously tend to call Austrian. More striking than the tale of these adaptations and commentaries is the proof which Galinsky brings of the impact of this German " mystic " on younger creative minds like Spender, McDiarmuid and Day Lewis. Not since the days of Carlyle has there been such a concentration of English and Scotch interest on German so-called religious poetry. Indeed it would be work for a student of English literature to follow, in this connection, the groupings of the early and mid-nineteenth century and those of to-day and to examine the relation—perhaps somewhat but not altogether problematical—between the earlier and the later social-political and poetical-philosophical backgrounds in England and Germany. The survey might be extended—not on an influence but on a kinship basis—to Anglo-Irish phenomena like George Russell and W. B. Yeats whose " mysticism " has been compared to that of Rilke.

Professor Butler's book takes, rightly, no account of such reactions. Her concern is with the examination of the mystery of Being and Becoming presented to her by one of the great masters of German poetry, who is at the same time one of the most fascinating personifications of the creative impulse that literature has to show. Whatever be the ultimate destiny of Rilke the " religious " philosopher, neither Miss Butler nor anyone else has any doubt of his *prima facie* right to final poetic enthronement. Miss Butler's problem is stated in a fine nine-page introduction which might well have run into ten times that length, and its solution (or insolubility) is the theme of the equally admirable conclusion. It is this : " Has the work of the greatest German poet since Hölderlin real religious validity ; or is it merely the mysterious expression of a one-man dream ? " I should have no

* *Rainer Maria Rilke.* By E. M. Butler. Cambridge University Press. 1941. 21s.

hesitation in saying that Miss Butler has, as well in the course of her penetrating and satisfying analysis of the " Duineser Elegien " and the " Sonette an Orpheus," both of them the main basis of Rilke's claim to be called a " religious " poet, as elsewhere, answered " no " to the first and " yes " to the second part of her question. She is not quite prepared to place Rilke as a " visionary " beside Blake and Hölderlin. The sole eminence that she concedes to him is in the aesthetic domain, where his fate would seem to be, in his own words, to lie " exposed on the summits of the heart "—the regions of the spirit closed to him forever. That very sane conclusion of Professor Butler's is arrived at after she has taken account of ten bulky volumes of collected letters as well as of some shorter correspondence. In addition there is her detailed study of all the Rilke works published or privately printed. Miss Butler is annoyed by the " treatment " the letters have received from the editors and by the suppressions made in their text. She is baffled by the fact that they rather present her with a Narcissus image of the poet than give her any flesh and blood contact with the man, and she deems herself prevented from relating him to his work. He is inadequately or exaggeratedly presented in the letters, while the poems reflect " shifting and kaleidoscopic " images or ambiguous and fundamentally irreconcilable notions, so that the man remains a mystery to her.

Rilke has suffered, like other artists, from the zeal of his friends, especially those of Miss Butler's sex. When they write a biography or an alleged elucidation of his more obscure work, they become hagiographical—according to Mr. Mason, a typically feminine tendency. Miss Butler is, happily for us other women, a pronounced departure from type in this case. Indeed, it may be that the existence of so many image-making ladies among Rilke's worshippers is accountable for the occasional pursuit, through the biographical chapters of this brilliant book, of a " debunking " process which becomes disturbing —clothed, as it sometimes is, in phrases cynical and slick. Very few saints, to say nothing of poets, would come unscathed out of the fire of scrutiny or the salt of surmise to which Rilke is here submitted. Miss Butler, we feel, has had more than her revenge on the " beauty parlour " editors and on the women intent on raising secret altars to their new god.

The heaviness of the task concealed by the masterly conduct of this book—as much creative and evocative as it is critical—is known to all students of Rilke. Mr. Mason, to whose larger work Miss Butler expresses herself indebted, gave in 1938 in " Rilke's Apotheosis " (a review of representative recent publications on Rilke) some indication of the extent to which Rilke literature has grown in the years 1934-1937. He indicated clearly—what is implied in Miss Butler's book—the dividing line of the two main streams of criticism—the validity or

non-validity of the religious vision which Rilke apparently claimed for himself and which is persistently claimed or denied by the two schools. A critic like Kaufmann is a rare phenomenon, but a very refreshing one. He, in "Sprache als Schöpfung," apparently by-passes the "religious" question, identifies Rilke "mysticism" with absolute art, and sensibly settles down to the study that seems to have a future as well as a present value: the elucidation of the meaning of Rilke the eternal artist, metamorphosed Orpheus, new synthesis Apollo-Dionysus. Though Mr. Mason's conscience is, in view of Rilke's "confessional" letters, uneasy at this elimination of the religious validity question, he admits that Kaufmann is justified by the results. At least they are derived from a less equivocal sphere than that which is so misleading and so confusingly identified with mysticism and religion.

Rilke himself is largely responsible for this confusion. Born and brought up, like his rival Stefan George and his friend Hans Carossa, a Catholic, he continued to use, long after he had ceased to be either practising or believing, not only the ritual, the language and the symbols of the Church as the decorative form of his work, but the Persons of God the Father and God the Son, the Mother of God and the hierarchies, Angels and Apostles, Saints and Prophets, as the very stuff and fabric of his verse. Stefan George had a similar but more subdued sense of the content and form-value of what had been his religion. Carossa finely refrains from such plunder. The reverence that is his and that he has nourished on Goethe keeps him clear of such abuse. His symbols are other; stellar and remote or subterranean and fiery. With Rainer Maria Rilke, at least up to his final period, it is not so. Much of the glamour which all but his latest work has for naive seekers after the transcendental in Art comes first from the titles and then from the sometimes cloudy, sometimes strangely twisted content of "Das Stundenbuch" ("The Book of Hours") with its subdivisions: "The Book of the Monastic Life," "The Book of Pilgrimage," "The Book of Poverty and Death," or of many of the "Neue Gedichte" or of "Das Marienleben." The last, however, is in a different category. As a Life of the Blessed Virgin in thirteen stanzas, it is factual in content and, though decorative rather than deep, is unspoiled by any revaluation of Catholic values. Not that such integrity has very significant connotations. It seems to have been curiously accidental—the verses being intended for a text to his old friend Vogeler's series of illustrations of the life of the Blessed Virgin. The date 1912, when the Duineser Elegien with all their tortured questionings were already germinating in him, affords an interesting proof of Rilke's power of bending himself to a task almost of book-making, for the subject, treated as it was within the framework of Catholic dogma, could have had but little meaning for him then. Moreover, Rilke the artist—

not primarily or even necessarily the believer—read the Psalms and the Bible, the splendid music of which echoes in his verse. The lives of such saints as Augustine and Monica, such mystic lovers of God as Francis of Assisi, Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross were a favourite food of his spirit, while his sense of the sculptured beauty of Notre Dame and Chartres is a passion, magically precipitated in many of his poems. Even such a trifling matter as the dating of his letters in terms of Church festivals is not without significance. These things are not Religion; not mysticism in the Catholic sense of that word; but they enriched his life and helped the flow and fusion in it of Art and Love and Death.

In certain recent re-orientations of Prague-born Rilke, stress is apparently laid on the fact that he was a "frontier" German with possible Slav composites in his blood. This cleavage is made to account for his aversion to the community spirit and for an individualism which, in its passion for isolation, is a disease. In this connection a letter of his to his publisher Kippenberg (1925) is of interest. In it he says that he had refused the invitation of the P.E.N. Club to the banquet of their International Congress in Paris, and adds that the Paris papers had published the names of the invited guests according to their country of origin: "Without having any right to represent Czecho-Slovakia, I have no objection to it; and when I am assigned to it as to my country of origin, I courteously keep quiet in the face of a fact which may well have its share in the composition of my person." This frontier character and its dualism, enhanced rather than otherwise in post-war Europe, may be to some extent responsible for the haunting sense of homelessness by which Rilke was pursued. But it was reinforced by the habitual loneliness of the artist-soul—and by the highly individual remoteness of this great poet from the world of men. "*Alleinsein, Einsamkeit, Abwehr, Ausgesetztsein*" are but varying modes of the one tone which sounds through all his work. Loneliness has indeed always been the price of genius. In our chaotic world it may be its doom, confirmed, perhaps, in Rilke's case, but not caused by any "extra-national" origin. The tragically peculiar life of a man who, as early as 1902, decided that *Art* was the only reality and that its pursuit necessitated an existence apart from his wife and child, as well as an exclusion of ordinary human interests, created a void for which "loneliness" is too mild a name. The "asceticism" that it implied has been variously analysed—mostly in terms of Freud. However pertinent it be to the elucidation of some of the mystery of the Elegies, this is not the place to discuss it.

Loneliness made Rilke a wanderer for life—in Russia, which the Slav in him, perhaps, regarded as his spiritual fatherland and to the wide spaces of which his tired heart turned after the strain of the

Elegies ; in Rome, which he disliked and where he, symbolically enough, took refuge from St. Peter's in a Russian church ; in Scandinavia where he experienced—again a symbol—the fruitful emptiness of winter and the slow promise of a Northern spring ; in Paris, which, with Rodin as its nerve-centre, was his artist's refuge. There he could realise himself in work and deliver himself from the " nothingness " that, with ghastly repetitiveness, yawned between his periods of creative activity. It saw the completion of the " Stundenbuch " triology, begun in Russia. It brought the realisation of a new Rilke in the " Neue Gedichte " and the final working out of that strange prose " Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge." El Greco drew him to Spain, for with Rilke the artist is lodestar—and to Toledo which seemed to be for him what Mecca was for the Prophet. There were the Balkans, Duino and the Adriatic where he cried aloud to his mysterious " Angels," announcing the birth of his Elegies. There were the war-years in Germany and Austria, the first that he had spent continuously amongst his own Folk since he had said farewell in turn to Prague, Berlin, Munich and Worpswede. And finally there was Switzerland, where he was to complete what he regarded as his supreme life's work. It is the French-speaking Canton of Valais, to which he finally gravitated—to a tiny fragment of a castle, a tower which, as he playfully said, when he entered, he felt as if he were putting on armour, so enclosed and mediaeval did it seem. There, in 1922, he slew the dragon of sterility which, for ten years, had wasted his land, and " rescued " the Elegies. More wonderful, he heard over the mountains, across the snow-bound vales a great voice calling till he echoed to it in two of the world's strangest outbursts of prolonged singing—the Sonnets to Orpheus.

When we have wrestled, as all students of German must, with the Elegies, we sense what the dread nature of the inspiration was that lay behind them. To Princess Thurn and Taxis, in whose castle they were conceived, Rilke confided that his " experience " of the First Elegy was so terrible he dreaded going through it again. The tremulous joy with which he announced their completion in 1922 is measure of the throes that preceded and accompanied their " making ". The " Sonnets," Rilke characterised as a " transmission " ; but the occult is a dread domain and the medium's task no safe one. Rilke's health, never robust, gave way utterly between 1922 and 1926. That obscure disease, leuchaemia, invaded his blood and he died, after untold suffering, alone except for doctor and nurse, " his own death " (as he would have phrased it earlier), for he refused absolutely to take narcotics or opiates. Frau Kippenberg gives an interesting account of his funeral, which took place from the Catholic Church at Raron, whither Rilke's body, escorted by a procession of young girls from the village, had been moved

earlier. She was hardly aware of the meaning of the Mass. But the incensing of the coffin and the prayers of the celebrant seemed to her a perfect expression of all their mourning, whilst the sweet notes of a violin from the little organ gallery floated through the clouds of incense round the once so sensitive ears of the dead poet. The simple mountain folk probably knew and loved this strange prisoner of a Vision so remote from theirs ; for he was gentle and generous. Despite the disclaimer in the famous 1925 " confessional " letter to the Polish translator of the Elegies, there must have been some qualification of his hostility to the Faith whose ceremonial ritual softened for his friends the stern severities of death. A letter written in December, 1925, to Kippenberg asks for a loan of 1,000 Swiss francs, to be repaid when he got power of disposal of his Viennese cousin's legacy. The 1,000 francs were for the repair of the oratory of St. Anne at Muzot, Rilke adding : " You will, I am sure, understand how glad I am, in this district from which I have derived so much help, to set in motion a work which will endure for all those quiet worshippers who are attached to the little chapel, lighting candles at its shrine and, in all their poverty, not forgetting the box-offering." A mere gesture this, perhaps, of courtesy ; but it has beauty and sincerity. The simple funeral at Raron was its reward. The wheel had—thanks, maybe, to the votaries of St. Anne and to their priest—gone full circle. The man had ended where the child began.

Rilke living was a mystery. Dead he does not easily abide question, unless we limit it, refusing to let Art spell Religion. Then there is the question of form and content when we proceed to appraisal which is implied in examination. Rilke will probably be adjudged one of Germany's great lyrists, and will certainly be deemed to have lent a new significance to his native speech. A book might be written alone on his use of words, his meticulous study of their connotations, their under- and overtones, his substitutions of word-forms to produce a more imaginative, a magical effect, his word revivals, diggings and findings in shafts from which treasures are brought forth. Grimm's great dictionary was his desk companion, and he matched Rodin's study of plastic materials with his own of words and word-images. This was his workshop ; here his craft. He laboured incessantly at it in those long spells which intervened with rhythmic regularity between his short creative periods. The same is true of his rhymes, rhythms and verse-music generally. From the early poems, through the " Stundenbuch " and " Buch der Bilder," to the Neue Gedichte and the " Elegien,' " Sonette " and " Späte Gedichte," the evolution is continuous, the music matching the word in each case. Form and content are one—tamer and hunter, rider and horse fixed, as in a stellar movement, in complete harmony, to use an image from the Orpheus sonnets.

As for the content—Rilke was the child of his age, though always in a poetic medium. If we except the product of the Rodin influence, the so-called "Dinggedichte" or New Poems in which a God—and man—made universe so splendidly affirms itself, much of his poetry, like his personality, is a question-mark. Indeed, the interrogative is, already in 1899, the mood of that strange monk in the "Stundenbuch." He is a metamorphosis to which psychoanalysts might attach some significance—the poet's double—engaged in fashioning the God of the future—in Russia. It is still the mood—heightened to a cry—in the "Duineser Elegien," It is remarkable that, in this cosmic series, which was presumably Rilke the Seer's answer to the problems of 20th century man, many of the poems should begin or end with an interrogation. The picture is grim. No artist theory of Abstract Angels or biologist's version of creation; no "philosopher's" synthesis of a whole fashioned out of Life and Death; no D. H. Lawrence-like elemental or Rilkean pseudo-ascetic vision of Love can remove the question mark from these strange revelations. There is, for me, no doubt, here, of the restriction of validity. The Elegies remain a striking individual picture, not a Vision of Life. With the "Sonette an Orpheus" it is different. These magnificent poems are a two-day "transmission," Rilke says. In any event, they are a remarkable example of the poetic impulse—an artist's affirmation of a Universe that had almost been negated in the Elegies and that here ecstatically arises at the voice of the god newly come out of the Greek past. The "Angels," dread abstracts, have been exorcised. Relieved, we allow Orpheus throne and lyre. To this, the only possible apotheosis, his twentieth-century counterpart may also well lay claim.

Mary M. Macken

REVIEWS

Biography

A VALIANT DUBLIN WOMAN. The Story of George's Hill (1766-1940). By Roland Burke Savage, S.J., M.A. Dublin: M. H. Gill. 1940. 8s. 6d.

THE author of this work is a recent graduate of University College, Dublin, and his book is a thesis which he prepared under the direction of Rev. Professor Corcoran for the degree of M.A. It would not be easy to find a better example of research work, interesting and valuable as a contribution to Irish history, and at the same time well adapted to the capabilities of a young student. The materials out of which the book has been constructed come from the archives of the Presentation Convent, George's Hill—one of the oldest of Dublin's convents and a centre of pioneer educational work for the past hundred and seventy years. The Sisters of George's Hill have preserved, with care and pride, the few surviving documents that have come down to them from their foundress—Teresa Mulally, the valiant Dublin woman who gives this book its title. Mr. Burke Savage has used those documents with remarkable literary skill, and his year's work has ended in a volume which is a notable contribution to the history of Catholic Dublin towards the end of the penal era.

Inevitably, the story centres round the class-room of George's Hill, and no reader can fail to be impressed by the persevering courage and faith which enabled this young Dublin working girl, of no special education and with no powerful family influences to support her, to establish a new school for other Dublin girls more needy and less fortunate than she herself had been. But the casual reader of this story might miss the true significance of Teresa Mulally's work. She did something more than give Dublin its first Catholic school for girls. In close touch with a group of Irish Jesuit priests and under their direction, she planned her work on lines which are in startling contrast to the contemporary educational systems of eighteenth-century England. Her teaching was based directly on the principles of Catholic faith and piety, and at the same time was free from any tendency to exploit Dublin's poor children in an Irish version of Dothegirls Hall. As a study of a remarkable educational achievement, far in advance of anything that English philanthropists were even attempting in that grim century of lavish wealth and poverty-stricken squalor, this book should be read by all students of modern Irish history. It is literally true that Teresa Mulally, working in spite of Penal Laws, deserves to rank as an exceptionally enlightened educational reformer; that she was also an exceptionally valiant Dublin woman is plain from this record of her difficulties, financial and otherwise.

Here and there the book throws unexpected light on eighteenth-century Irish life. There is a vivid account of a journey from Dublin

to Cork in 1778. Teresa had been in touch with Nano Nagle for some years before that date, and she had set her heart on bringing the new Presentation Sisters to Dublin, so that her own work should be established on a permanent footing. To the end of her long and laborious career, Teresa would never admit that she herself was worthy to become a nun. She brought the Presentation Sisters to George's Hill, and she is venerated as the convent's foundress; but she lived and died as plain Teresa Mulally, with no pretensions to more than ordinary Catholic faith, charity and piety. Yet the account which her companion wrote of this journey to Cork, when she was still in the early stages of her work as a teacher and organiser, reads like a chapter from the life of a recognised saint written by some unnamed woman whose sense of humour and fun is equal to her gift of vivid description.

There is also the curious episode of Father (or Mr.) Dixon, parish priest of St. Michan's, who was compelled to leave his parish suddenly and spend no less than ten years in France, at a time when his help and patronage were badly needed in Dublin. But his going could have been neither foreseen nor avoided. Anthony Preston, 11th Viscount Gormanston, had died in December 1786. His widow was a Protestant, and she made a determined effort to have her son Jenico, the twelfth Viscount, declared a ward in Chancery and thus educated as a Protestant. The loss of the Gormanston family to the old faith was too grievous a blow to be endured without some effort to avert its force. The boy's grandmother kidnapped Jenico, then eleven years old, and brought him to Dublin where she kept him for a time in hiding. But the mother obtained an order from the Court of Chancery, and the might of the law threatened to prove too strong for those who were plotting this battle for the faith. In her despair, old Lady Gormanston (a daughter of the 11th Baron Trimbleston) brought the young boy to Father Dixon at St. Michan's and begged him to fly at once to France, at a moment's notice. The priest consented and left Teresa's friend, the Jesuit Father Mulcaile, in charge of his parish for the next ten years. More than one effort was made by the boy's mother to have Jenico rescued from Father Dixon's custody in Paris. On one occasion the priest had to draw his sword in defence of his young ward. Meanwhile, his absence from St. Michan's placed Teresa Mulally and her work in a position of peculiar embarrassment. But the rest of the story must be read in this book.

Quotation is tempting, but I must end with a word of congratulation, not only to the author and the professor under whose guidance this book has been prepared, but also, and very specially, to the Presentation Sisters of George's Hill who have indeed deserved well of Dublin's poor. The second half of the book carries the story to the present day, and it is plain that the convent on " the Hill " has lost

nothing of its early vitality and generous charity. The light which its archives have thrown on a forgotten chapter of Irish history, makes one hope that other Irish convents (and there are many with history that is well worth recording) will find a spokesman as sympathetic and as well qualified as the author of this book. P. D.

THE EARLY YEARS OF ISAAC THOMAS HECKER (1819-1844). By Rev. Vincent F. Holden, C.S.P. Washington, D.C. : Catholic University of America. 1939. Pp. 257.

THE name of Father Hecker, founder of the Paulist Fathers, is one around which a violent theological controversy raged at the close of the last century. By his opponents he was regarded as having propounded the errors which were gathered together under the name *Americanismus* and were condemned by Leo XIII in 1899 in the brief *Testem benevolentiae.* Whether he did in fact hold such views (the writer in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* believes that he did) need not concern us here. It may, however, be noted that he was not mentioned in the brief, nor was Father Elliott's life of him—the book which gave rise to the controversy—ever condemned since its publication in 1891.

Briefly, Isaac Hecker's history was as follows. Born in New York in 1819 of German immigrant parents, he was brought up as a Methodist. He left school at the age of twelve, having received but a very elementary education, and worked as assistant and then as partner in his brothers' bakery. With them he took a keen interest in local politics from the age of sixteen. In 1841 he met Orestes A. Brownson, founder of the *Boston Quarterly Review*, and under his inspiration took up the reading of philosophy. For the next three years he went through an agonising experience of doubts and mental confusion which finally resolved themselves into a decision to join the Catholic Church, a step he took in 1844. It was during this period that he met and lived with such people as Thoreau, Emerson, Hawthorne and Dana. In 1845 he joined the Redemptorist Order in Belgium and after his ordination was sent with some of his brethren to America. In 1857, for reasons that need not concern us here, their connection with the Order was dissolved and in the following year Father Hecker established, with Papal approval, the Congregation of Missionary Priests of St. Paul the Apostle. For thirty years he directed the Congregation in its fruitful and energetic labour of conversions, founding for this purpose the *Catholic World.* He died in 1888.

The present work by Father Holden is concerned with Hecker's life up to his conversion. Having had access to much more abundant material than was at Father Elliott's disposal, he has been able to give a very full and authoritative account of those early years. One might

in fact say too full an account. Father Holden is a glutton for details, with the result that the subject of his book is at times submerged under a mass of hardly relevant information. And yet with all these details, one gets but a hazy idea of Hecker's personality, of what other people thought of him—in short, of what the man was like.

The best part of the book is that which deals with the two years preceding the conversion. Here Father Holden has drawn a clear picture of the evolution in Hecker's mind from violent anti-Catholic ideas to the peace of final surrender. He shows how Hecker's lack of early education was a serious obstacle in his advance to the truth. The picture indeed is a pathetic one—the young baker of twenty-two years, whose school-days were ten years behind him, wading through the perplexities of Kant and Cousin ("... kneading at the dough-trough with Kant's Critique of Pure Reason fastened upon the wall before him," p. 65), taking up German and French and later Latin and Greek. In the event he did not get very far with his studies; he never learnt how to express his thoughts clearly in writing, a fact, it seems to me, which may account for the attribution to him of errors in faith that he may never have intended.

Naturally, his orthodoxy does not come up for discussion in the present book. There are, however, some indications in his diary and letters which show that even while still a non-Catholic he had very little time for those errors that were afterwards associated with his name. His friend Brownson had apparently become convinced of the truth of the Catholic Church but thought that he could do more good by preaching, still as a Protestant minister, as much of the faith as would be acceptable to his audience. Hecker disagreed completely: "If you grant that the Roman Catholic Church is the true Church there is, in my thought, no stopping place short of its bosom." (p. 87). Again, on the eve of his conversion he is equally downright about the absolute necessity of grace before there can be any conversion of the sinner (p. 239).

Father Holden has done a good piece of research in this book. His filial feelings may have led him at times to over-elaboration, to a chronicling of details that is excessive, but that may be forgiven in a work that brings more vividly before us the early history of a man who did great things for the Church in America. S. Ó C.

ELIZABETH SETON. An American Woman. By Leonard Feeney, S.J. Pp. 272. New York: America Press. 1939. $2.00.

A YOUNG widow with five small children, who had been received into the Catholic Church only four years before, becomes a nun and founds a congregation which to-day numbers nearly nine thousand members

and which conducts 8 Colleges, 160 High Schools, 447 Parochial Schools, 91 Hospitals, 69 Schools for nursing, and many other works too numerous to mention here—such is the record of the subject of this biography. And if the results of her short career (she died in 1821 at 47, only twelve years after the foundation) are astonishing, the means by which Providence brought it all about are no less so : the long voyage across the Atlantic in Captain O'Brien's little ship *The Shepherdess*, the terrible days with her dying husband in the Lazzaretto at Leghorn, her friendship with the exemplary Catholic family of the Filecchis, the agonizing days of doubt and hesitation after her return to New York, the final step followed by cruel sufferings of many kinds—poverty, bereavement, ill-health, loss of friends, ostracism from her social world.

This biography, however, is deeply interesting not so much because of the outward events which it records as because of its revelation of a wonderfully beautiful soul. It is largely self-revelation, for Father Feeney allows her letters and diaries to speak for themselves. The story itself he tells in his own breezy, vigorous way with much comment and moralizing of his own. He is never heavy nor dull, but his style and tone are very American and personal, and may not please all readers. We reach Mother Seton's conversion only at p. 173 and the foundation of her order at p. 201. The rest, apart from an epilogue, is told in less than fifty pages, and one of the chapters reads like a series of notes collected and set down almost at random. Perhaps it is best so.

Mother Seton's last few years were full of strangely mingled joy and sorrow. Her two beloved young sisters-in-law and two of her daughters entered the congregation. All of them died in her presence. Her best-loved son entered the navy, and she never saw him again.[1] She herself was an invalid in constant pain, yet her life was a triumph none the less.

Her family was of old English and Dutch origin (one of her descendant blood-relations is Franklin D. Roosevelt). But her congregation was recruited as we might expect. Here are the names of her first postulants : Cecilia O'Conway, Maria Murphy, Mary Anne Butler, Susan Clossy, Maria Burke, and Catherine Mullen. S. J. B.

Classics

AESCHYLUS AND ATHENS. By George Thomson. London : Lawrence and Wishart. 1941. 21s. net.

THE student of Aeschylus who has read Professor Thomson's previous work on the poet may be surprised, on first seeing this book, to find that it is published, no longer by the Cambridge University Press, but

[1] One of his sons lived to be an Archbishop and to write Mother Seton's Memoirs.

by a firm which specialises in Communist literature. His uneasiness will be increased when he reads its preface, where he will come across the statement that among the " sources " to which its author acknowledges indebtedness are " the political events of the last ten years, which have forced me, in common with many others, to reorientate my whole attitude to life." If at this point he turns back to the publisher's blurb, as in his wonderment he well may do, he will discover that the book is " the first attempt, at least in this country, to apply to ancient Greek civilisation the principles of historical materialism." Not many classical scholars, it is to be feared, are very well up, even after the past ten years, in these principles. It will be more difficult than Professor Thomson in his convert's enthusiasm appears to think to convince most of them that a statement is necessarily true because it fits conveniently into the framework of Marxian propaganda. This should not, indeed, trouble Professor Thomson overmuch ; for, good Marxist that he has become, he realises that of course there is no such thing as truth. " Not only," he says, " was the Greek view of life relative, but so is our view of the Greek view." If we ask " why, then, write books about the Greek view at all ? " the answer can only be that he writes in order to convince us, by an exceedingly roundabout method, of the efficacy—not, of course, the truth—of the Marxian dialectic. It is surely far easier and cheaper to write about the iniquity of the capitalist system.

Having been, in his pre-conversion period, a lover of Aeschylus, Professor Thomson has carried over into his new-found Communist world a totally irrelevant conviction that Aeschylus is somehow important. This importance, however, has little or nothing to do with Aeschylus's poetry. It concerns him rather as a product of social and economic forces. In order to understand these forces, argues Professor Thomson, we must not alone study the history of Athens or Greece. Indeed we must take care to eschew such historians as Bury, whose work, though too influential with uneducated people, is unimportant. Scholars like Dr. Nilsson of Lund, whose work on Greek religion some of us are foolish enough to respect, do not know what they are talking about. Alleged authorities on Plato like Professor A. E. Taylor are as unreliable and as much addicted to the suppression of essential facts as was Plato himself. We must go back far behind the fifth century B.C. and far away from Greece. It is impossible to understand Aeschylus, after the dialectic fashion, without making a close study of the Australian black-fellow.

But here again we must exercise due selection and proper dialectic caution. It will not do to consult so-called authorities who have spent a large part of their lives in studying the black-fellow in his native bush—scholars like Malinowski, for example, and still less men like

Schmidt or Schebesta, for these last two are actually priests and so cannot be mentioned at all in a Marxian treatise. To understand the black-fellow and through him Aeschylus, we must study the classificatory system of L. H. Morgan, which was first put forward in 1871. It is true that Morgan's views, while for nearly thirty years they dominated in anthropological study, have not only been utterly rejected but scoffed at by practically all experts in this study in the present generation. That does not matter. "The theory has been reasserted by the anthropologists of the Soviet Union, who maintain that it has only been abandoned elsewhere because its implications are incompatible with the bourgeois attitude to contemporary society." We are unable to help wondering what would happen to the Soviet anthropologists if their own views were not so incompatible—indeed if their views did not change every time there was a change, by command of the Kremlin, in the "general line."

At least half the book under review is taken up by arguments of this sort and by an elaborate exposition of Morgan's famous theory. With its help and that of the dialectic, Professor Thomson is happy to prove that Greek society, indeed all society, originated in the primitive horde in which everybody was everybody else's maiden aunt, which practised totemism, exogamy, and what-not, and counted descent exclusively through mothers, taking little or no heed of fathers at all. Fathers only came in when the perfect communism of primitive society had fallen into repulsive decay—in accordance, of course, with the principles of historical materialism. It is a little difficult to show what all this has to do with Aeschylus, to whom Professor Thomson rather reluctantly comes down at the end of his book. It seems to shed only a very faint light on the drama or the poetry for the sake of which one used to read the first dramatic poet. Needless to say, Professor Thomson's scholarship has not all disappeared beneath the vast coils of the classificatory system. He is still often suggestive; and when he gets at last to Greece, many of his views are worth pondering. We can only hope that it will not take another ten years for the dialectic process to convert him into the opposite of what he has so sadly and so unnecessarily become. M. T.

History

KINGSHIP AND LAW IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By F. Kern. Translated by S. B. Chrimes.

CHURCH, STATE AND CHRISTIAN SOCIETY AT THE TIME OF THE INVESTITURE CONTEST. By G. Tellenbach. Translated by R. F. Bennett.

Oxford: Blackwell. 1939 and 1940. 12s. 6d. each.

THESE two volumes belong to a series which had been planned by Mr. Geoffrey Barraclough during the last few years before the

catastrophe of the present war. It is sad reading to go back to them now, for their immediate purpose is no longer attainable. German scholarship has always excelled in historical criticism, and Mr. Barraclough was anxious that the best of German medieval research should be made more easily available for English readers. His plan was all the more timely since German medievalists had concentrated, with remarkable success, on the problems of constitutional history. A better understanding of the past might lead to a better understanding of modern problems. To-day there is little hope that such academic discussions can affect the unknown outcome of the war that has come upon us and that has shattered, for a time at least, all prospect of international co-operation.

Professor Kern's monograph is no new discovery. It was published, in the summer of 1914, under the title: *Gottesgnadentum und Widerstandsrecht im früheren Mittelalter.* Five years later he published an important article in the *Historische Zeitschrift* on "Law and Constitution in the Middle Ages." Mr. Chrimes has had the excellent idea of combining the two treatises into a single short volume, gaining space by the omission of a large number of foot-notes which, owing to the success of Professor Kern's own work, have now been superseded. It would not be easy to name a book from which a student could get a better introduction to the problems of German medieval history. Kern's preliminary analysis of the monarchical principle in early Christian Europe is followed by an exceedingly clear statement of German customs concerning kin-right—a point on which there are interesting parallels in Irish law. This is followed by the central section of the whole thesis: an elaborate study of the influence which Catholic doctrines of grace and consecration exercised on the development of kingly power in medieval Germany. Here we are at the very heart of German medieval life; these doctrines must be clearly grasped before we can understand what the medieval theorist meant when he admitted a right of resistance to an increasingly dominant kingly power. Professor Kern was writing without any thought of the modern totalitarian state; but his book makes fascinating reading for anyone who wishes to formulate the conditions under which totalitarianism may find itself confronted by a resurgence of human liberty, asserting once more the elementary rights of Christian society.

Professor Tellenbach's book is more recent. It was published in 1936, under the significant title: *Libertas: Kirche und Weltordnung im Zeitalter des Investiturstreites.* Once again we find the Catholic Church struggling for freedom—this time for freedom from the oppression of lay-control in the local *Eigenkirche* and in the central organisation of papal power. The old-fashioned Protestant version of Hildebrand's struggle against Henry IV is beginning to disappear,

even from popular school text-books. Modern scholars, English as well as German, have come to see Gregory VII as a champion of freedom, not as the ambitious ecclesiastical imperialist whose caricature may be found in Adolf Hauck's brilliant pages. But it is not easy to grasp the principles at issue unless we get a firm grip of the system that existed in the days of Otto the Great or Henry III. Tellenbach's analysis of the medieval concept of *libertas* brings home to a modern student the baffling contrasts between modern and medieval society. His account of the " proprietary system " (*Eigenkirchenrecht*) is most helpful. An Irish example may be helpful. I take it from a twelfth-century document which has been preserved, by good fortune, in the chartulary of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin. In this document Adam de Feypo, lord of some lands near Skreen in Meath, claims that he was the first patron of any church in Ireland ; that he was the first to pay tithes to the Church ; and that he was the first to have a parish priest or parson (in this case, his own brother) instituted by the Bishop in a fully-organised parish. The strict control which Adam, and others like him, were able to exercise over these local *Eigenkirchen* (to use the convenient German term) accounts in great measure for the success of Anglo-Norman ecclesiastical policy here in Ireland. But it also helps us to understand the determination with which Popes like Gregory VII and Urban II set themselves to free the Church as a whole from this insistent control. Viewed in this light, Gregory VII is indeed a great revolutionary Pope. He challenged, successfully, a custom that had acquired the force of law all over Western Europe ; and European society, after his memorable pontificate, was never the same as it had been in the days when German Emperors could do as they willed with Italian or German Popes.

It is late in the day to commend these volumes ; but good books do not easily lose their value, and I should like to add a word of appreciation for the two earlier volumes with which Mr. Barraclough began his series in 1938. Under the general title *Mediaeval Germany*, 911-1250, he has grouped a collection of nine essays by representative German scholars, each of which deals with a particular problem of medieval constitutional history. The first volume of the series is filled with an admirable summary, written by Mr. Barraclough himself in 1935, in which he attempts to state, in the light of modern research, the main problems of German medieval history as a guide for further study. A. G.

A HISTORY OF CYPRUS. Vol. I. To the Conquest by Richard Lion-Heart. By Sir George Hill. Cambridge University Press. 1940. 25s. net.

THE great Greek island which was rented by Great Britain from Turkey in 1878 and formally annexed in 1914 seems likely to play a considerable

part in the present war during the very near future. Its geographical position has given it a strange and interesting history. In ancient times it was divided, in very unequal proportions, between Greeks who occupied it probably towards the end of the Bronze Age and Phœnicians who settled in various parts of it from 1000 B.C. or so onwards. Although the learned author of the present work speaks in one place of the Cypriot "nation," its people were never united except by foreign conquest, and up to the time of Alexander the Great it remained broken up into nine or ten small separate kingdoms. Its Greek population seems to have come from the Peloponnese before the Dorian conquest, but Aeschylus describes the Cyprian type as similar to that of Egyptians and Indians. The civilisation of Cyprus, while in a general way it derives of course from Greece, was always full of elements remote, strange, and archaic. A special pre-Greek script, akin to that used in Minoan Crete, continued to be crudely adapted to the spelling of Greek words on the coinage of its cities down to the fourth century B.C. That it has not yet lost this curious quality is evidenced by the fact that in Cyprus alone of Greek lands except Crete has the medieval "akritic" ballad survived to the present day.

Apart from the brief but valuable book of Mr. Stanley Casson (reviewed in STUDIES for December 1937) there has existed up to the present little good historical work on ancient Cyprus in English. The archaeology of the island, long shamefully neglected, has been put on a solid footing since about 1925, mainly by the careful researches of Swedish scholars. For over a generation previously it had been possible to treat Cyprist antiquities only with an exaggerated kind of defensive caution. Now Sir George Hill, a first-class authority on all branches of Greek archaeology and history, has presented the classical scholar with a guide to the subject which is unlikely to be superseded for many years.

In one sense it is rather a pity that he should have stopped short in his narrative with the conquest of Cyprus by Richard I in 1191. The break in continuity between this volume and its eventual successor is likely to be greater than may appear at first sight. The present volume is rather unequally distributed as it is; out of a total of less than three hundred and thirty pages, less than a hundred are allowed for the Byzantine period, which is of primary importance for modern Cyprus. At any rate the author is clearly quite as much at home in dealing with medieval history and art as he is with ancient. He commits an odd little slip when he takes quite literally (p. 249) the rhetorical statement of St. John Chrysostom that Salamis was besieged by the Marcionite heresy; but this is so unusual with him that the reviewer feels its discovery to be a minor triumph. The work of the historian

in the case of Cyprus must necessarily consist in piecing together a most heterogeneous mass of fragmentary material, literary, linguistic, epigraphical and historical; and this is a task in which Sir George Hill has few equals. At the same time he succeeds, by his vast learning and strong critical power, in filling his apparently unpromising subject with vivid interest, so that there is scarcely a page in his book from which the observant reader will not be able to learn something.

There are almost innumerable questions, some of them very important, in relation to early Cypriot history upon which this kind of exact and critical scholarship is badly needed. One example is the Phoenician question, and here Sir George by a careful sifting of the evidence greatly narrows down the extent of Phoenician colonisation as well as reacting strongly against exaggerated views, which have long held the field, on the influence of the Phoenicians as carriers of Oriental artistic ideas and techniques. His attitude towards the art of Cyprus, again, is refreshingly independent, and he refuses to be carried away by the admiration which certain recent discoveries have aroused. In art, as in literature, Cyprus, at least during the pagan period, remained always a backward region; its interest lies not in the excellence, but in the peculiarity, of what it produced. The chapter on the religion of early Cyprus in this book is a model of exhaustive and systematic research. On the Macedonian, Roman, and Byzantine periods and on the Moslem and Frankish invasions the student will find the same completeness, exactitude, and clarity as in the early part of the book, and the whole is beautifully printed and produced.

M. T.

HERALDS OF CHRIST THE KING. Missionary Record of the North Pacific 1837-1878. By Sister Mary Theodore, S.S.A. Pp. 273. New York: Kenedy. 1939. $3.50.

THIS book relates the beginnings of the Church in the vast region formerly known as Oregon and now comprising the States of Idaho, Washington, and Oregon, and the Province of British Columbia up to the boundaries of Alaska. When in 1837 the two pioneer French Canadian priests, Fathers Modeste Demers and Francois Norbert Blanchet, set out on their 5,325 mile journey from Lachine on the St. Lawrence across the prairies and the Rockies to Fort Vancouver, that region, but for a few scattered posts of the Hudson Bay Company, was inhabited only by roving bands of Red Indians. The Company's officials were English and Scottish; their servants, boatmen, hunters or coureurs des bois were mostly French Canadians and half-breeds. These latter were Catholics, but from the Great Lakes to the Pacific there was neither priest nor chapel.

What the journey was like may be gathered first from the fact

that it took from May 3rd to November 24th. It was by lake and river, and between Lachine and St. Boniface (about half way) there were ninety-eight portages—*i.e.*, places where the canoes had to be unloaded and carried on the rowers' backs. It was a journey of the greatest hardships and dangers, but the missionaries were consoled for it on their arrival by being welcomed with open arms by whites and Indians alike. They found the latter everywhere eager to embrace Christianity. The story of their journeyings backwards and forwards over their huge territory, of their poverty and privations is truly a remarkable and an interesting one, though the manner in which it is told may grate a little upon some readers.

After some years of these devoted labours Father Blanchet was made first Archbishop of Oregon and Father Demers first Bishop of Vancouver Island. The latter must have been the most destitute bishopric in the world. Bishop Demers had two priests and a scattered flock of some two thousand Indians. His palace was a small tent, and the walls and pillars of his cathedral still stood in the virgin forest. As for Father Blanchet, when as Archbishop-elect he returned from Rome in 1844 his difficulty was to find a bishop to consecrate him. So utterly unknown was he that, when he went to Mexico, there was no one to identify him. He had to take ship again, first to Honolulu and then around Cape Horn to France. There the same difficulty arose, and he was obliged to return for consecration to his native diocese in Quebec.

After relating the work of the two pioneers, the author completes the story by an account of the labours of their immediate successors, Archbishop Seghers and Bishop Lemmens. She tells, too, the story of the first foundations of the Sisters of St. Ann on the Pacific Coast. On their way to Victoria, Vancouver Island, they were hospitably received at San Francisco (p. 207) by Mother Russell, sister of Father Matthew Russell, S.J., and of Lord Russell of Killowen.

This is by no means merely an edifying narrative. It draws on a vast store of information and on much personal experience. And the story it relates is eminently worth the telling. S. J. B.

Philosophy

THEISM AND COSMOLOGY. By John Laird. London: Allen and Unwin. 1940. 10s. 6d.

Admittedly Dr. Laird has already shown in his works no small measure of the philosophical genius of the Scots and has won deserved esteem. He writes with clarity and precision, often with charm, never with arrogance. It is a pity that such a writer has written this book. It is an examination into the possibility of knowing God by deduction from sensible knowledge, into the possibility of natural theology indeed, and concludes against that possibility. But, throughout, the writer

seems to be hardly aware of the system that is becoming recognised as the most resolutely logical of all in its theism. It is some indication of the limits of his knowledge of Scholasticism that St. Thomas is not once mentioned, that Dr. Laird implies (p. 209) that the Molinists *revived* the doctrine of divine concurrence, and that his own version of the arguments for God's existence is almost exactly that of Leibniz as seen through the eyes of Kant. Let us consider his position so far as it is in fact relevant to that of the Scholastics.

(1) Against the argument from the contingency of the world he objects that the word contingency may have several meanings. In particular, if taken as opposed to *necessary* it becomes, like its opposite, a predicate of propositions, not of things, and is therefore inapplicable to the world. Even if it were true of the world, the world would yet be a brute fact, and brute facts, though they may have explanations, cannot require them, for existence is ultimate. Even if the world did require an explanation, this might ultimately be a cause itself contingent. (2) Against teleological arguments, including the argument from design, he argues that teleology is often " unidead," since even inanimate things are directed to an end ; how then can we conclude that the order of the world derives from an Idea ? (3) Against creation and the eternity of God he argues on Bergsonian lines. Duration is always a continuous progress. Hence God's duration is not eternal or simultaneous, but continuously successive. Hence becoming is a predicate of existence and therefore ultimate, so that it can have no explanation in any ulterior reality. Therefore the creation of the world is simply its self-conservation as a becoming, and its beginning requires no explanation beyond that it follows continuously as a becoming *on* God's becoming or duration. He concludes that God's existence and attributes are naturally undemonstrable, though they may be known by faith. This was also the view of certain mediaeval Nominalists.

In answer let us point out that the words *necessary* and *contingent* have had precise meanings in the context of this argument and have been applied to substances in classical philosophy for the best part of a thousand years. Necessary is that which by its essence cannot be non-existent without contradiction. Contingent is that which by its essence can exist but can also be non-existent without contradiction. Therefore the contingent does not exist of itself, for its essence does not exclude non-existence. But if it does not exist of itself it must exist, if at all, by another ; for " of itself " and " by another " can be shown to be implicitly contradictory (they are roughly equivalent to " independently " and " dependently ") ; hence every existing thing exists either of itself or by another (existence *does* require an explanation). But the " other " must eventually be the necessary ;

otherwise the essential condition for anything existing cannot be fulfilled. Hence the necessary exists if the contingent exists. But the world is contingent; otherwise it would be necessary and therefore (by deduction) immutable, immaterial, infinite. Hence the necessary exists, since the world exists.

To the second contention it has been replied that all teleology is "idead." Any action must be predetermined by its own form *before* the action is realised in performance; otherwise the cause could not determine it as *that* action. But by hypothesis this form does not exist in the real order (it would be the real action itself). Therefore it exists as determined somewhere in the mental order. Mind is the origin of all.

Dr. Laird's remarks on duration neglect the doctrine of analogy. Measurement by a continuous standard is a property of matter. If all duration is continuous, then all that endures in existence is matter. There is no possibility of an immaterial God. If therefore an immaterial God has been demonstrated, it follows that we must assign to Him another kind of duration. Again, even if duration is a predicate of existence, even if it were identified with existence, nevertheless the existence of the world itself is not an ultimate. It is variously limited and therefore requires a cause. God's existence is indeed the ultimate, but it is only analogous to the existence of the world. But since Dr. Laird accuses M. Maritain of "an abuse of language" for using the phrase "a diminution of being," it does not seem likely that he has deeply considered the doctrine of analogy.

These are ordinary doctrines to be found in almost any Scholastic text-book. To overlook them is to leave the adversaries unconquered. Dr. Laird's book has value for its many acute and true observations as well as for its appreciation of the value of natural theology (granted its possibility) to religion. In insight into natural theology, however, though it may well be up-to-date, it is far behind the thirteenth century.

A. L.

Politics

ROUSSEAU AND BURKE. A Study of the Idea of Liberty in Eighteenth-Century Political Thought. By Annie Marian Osborn. London: Milford. 1940. 10s. 6d.

THE purpose of this book is to give a statement of the political thought of Rousseau and Burke. This has often been done; but the present study is, so far as I know, unique in arriving at the surprising conclusion that, "in spite of Burke's scathing denunciations of Rousseau," it is evident from a comparison of their ideas that "there was no important divergence of opinion on the question of fundamental principles." In establishing a conclusion like this, much depends upon what is meant by fundamental principles. That both in some sense believed in

justice and liberty, in the necessity of the State, in the importance of taking account of climate or character or circumstance will not be sufficient to establish any fundamental agreement. Burke was certainly convinced that he differed radically from Rousseau, and I cannot believe that this book will persuade anyone that he was mistaken. Still the attempt to do so is notable, and the author gives a very competent account of the political ideas of both writers. Obviously, as is usual now in academic circles, her sympathies are with Rousseau, although her account of Burke's political philosophy is the more adequate.

Rousseau is a very difficult writer. His political views seem to be altogether occasional and to vary widely at different times. Some critics, like M. Faguet, find in him the most violent contradictions. Others like Höffding are of opinion that a development or evolution of some kind can be traced from the early individualism and anarchy of the two *Discours* to the authoritarian absolutism of the *Contrat Social.* No one, except perhaps himself, holds that his political theories in his various writings are logically consistent. Omitting minor incoherencies, one may discover three types of political thinking in Rousseau. In the two *Discours* he regards not merely organized society but civilisation, all arts and sciences, as evil, a calamity by which man has been drawn from a primitive phase of solitary bliss. M. Faguet thinks that this extreme individualism represents the genuine Rousseau. In the writings dealing with particular countries—Corsica and Poland—Rousseau is much more realistic, takes account of particular circumstances and abandons theory for maxims founded on experience. The present book seems to regard the third phase, that of the *Contrat Social,* as the most mature and characteristic form of his political thinking. In this phase Rousseau is convinced of the necessity of the organized State and of the immense benefits it bestows upon the individual, in making him a citizen instead of a solitary individual and in restoring and confirming to him the rights he has surrendered, with the added sanction of the law.

What makes a writer historically influential it is difficult to say. That Rousseau has been an immense historical influence is certain. Incoherency, although it may deter the philosopher, is certainly no fatal disqualification with the ordinary man. Burke frequently inveighs against the dangers of pushing logic too far when dealing with the concrete affairs of men. But, if logic means consistency, then Burke is much more logical than Rousseau. Burke, however, has left no systematic account of his political principles. His excursions into political theory were all concerned with practical problems—the revolt of the American colonies, India, Ireland, the French Revolution. But he is entirely consistent throughout. It is in the light of precisely the same principles that he favours the American revolution and denounces

the revolution in France. In the Victorian age he was regarded as the greatest " depositary of political wisdom " in English history. His writings appealed to men both of conservative and liberal temper. He seemed to sum up in himself all the characteristic virtues of English political thinking—the historic sense, the appreciation of the value of psychological factors, the uses of moderation and compromise, the futility of utopian schemes, the dangers to settled order and steady progress of " over-principled ruffians." In this irreverent age we are told in irreverent language that he is being " debunked." His study of the French Revolution was supposed to show wonderful political wisdom and foresight. We are now told that he failed altogether to grasp its significance. In domestic politics he opposed almost every measure which history has now shown to be in the path of progress. I doubt if there is much substance in these lines of criticism. Even if one were convinced that many of the results of historical events were good, this might not justify the methods and procedures of the moment. And again political changes may be admirable at one stage of history and disastrous at another. Burke, naturally enough, could only deal with the circumstances of his own age. He was sometimes wrong, but more frequently right.

There is a tendency in much English political literature to become almost lyrical in dealing with writers like the *philosophes* of the eighteenth century. This is now a consecrated tradition. Sufficient time has surely elapsed to enable us to take a more detached view and to realise that something can be said for the great historic traditions of French civilisation, whatever its corruptions may have been. Nor is it easy to see any consistency in an attitude which denounces the revocation of the Edict of Nantes but regards the principles of the revolution of 1688 as altogether commendable. The present book seems to discover a wonderful moral inspiration in Rousseau. No doubt some of his contemporaries referred to him as " the virtuous Jean Jacques." But is there any truth in Dr. Johnson's reaction ? " Rousseau, sir, is a very bad man. I would sooner sign a sentence for his transportation than that of any felon who has gone from the Old Bailey these many years. Yes, I should like to have him work in the plantations."

D. O'K.

THE VATICAN AND THE WAR IN EUROPE. By Denis Gwynn. Dublin : Browne and Nolan. 1940. 7s. 6d.

THE POPE SPEAKS. By Charles Rankin. London : Faber and Faber. 1940. 7s. 6d. net.

Mr. Gwynn's is a very useful book because it gives, in a brief survey, information which is not readily available elsewhere. Its purpose is to show the Vatican's attitude towards war in Europe and its constant

efforts to maintain peace. It gives a condensed but adequate account of Vatican diplomacy and action from the time of Benedict XV to that of the present pope. Although its chief subject is war and peace, it also provides a valuable analysis of social and political movements in Europe since the last Great War. During this period the diplomatic prestige of the Holy See has apparently increased. Practically all the great powers have been forced, by the mere logic of circumstances, to take account of the immense spiritual power of the Catholic Church. Often, it is to be feared, their deference has been occasioned by expediency rather than by conviction. They are anxious to get what aid they can from the influence of the Church without any genuine sacrifice of their ultimate political designs. They are willing, and even anxious, to make concordats which are helpful in moments of crisis, but which they do not intend to keep. Their diplomacy is, what diplomacy commonly has been, not an effort to do the right thing simply but an effort to conceal, under elaborate and tortuous devices, what is wrong.

If Mr. Gwynn's narrative is gloomy and even tragical, it is a tragedy relieved by many lights of courage and devotion. Inevitably there are times when mere moral power seems a feeble resource and the admonitions of a spiritual ruler, unbacked by force, a vain thing. But, apart altogether from any religious hope or conviction, history has abundantly shown that such pessimism is mistaken. And although the deference which, at times like the present, is paid to Christian principles is only too frequently the homage which vice pays to virtue, still it is definitely homage to something which men have come to recognise as the ultimate hope of civilisation. It may be too much to cherish the belief that, out of this chaos, a Christian culture and civilisation will emerge. Many observers fear rather the collapse of that European civilisation which, amid so many aberrations and errors, still carried on the Christian tradition. Thoughtful men—or should one say some few thoughtful men ?—must realise the results that follow from a pagan social philosophy. And Mr. Gwynn's book may help us to the conviction that, as in a former age the Catholic Church built up a great civilisation out of the ruins of the Roman Empire, she may be called upon again to rebuild it, and that her spiritual powers are not unequal to the task. It is natural that, in time of war, civil governments should expect more direct support than the occasion itself and the position of the Holy See warrant. A wide survey, such as Mr. Gwynn gives us, shows that such expectations are generally misplaced.

Mr. Rankin's book supplements Mr. Gwynn's. It gives first an account of the life of the present pope and then a compilation of his allocutions, messages, broadcasts, addresses and encyclicals since his

accession to the Holy See. The account of the pope's life is adequate, but is written at a rather high pitch of emotion. There are occasional lapses, as when we are told on p. 45 that, at the Eucharistic Congress at Budapest, "Cardinal Pacelli was assisted by 150 other Cardinals." This is an odd mistake as the correct number of Cardinals is given two pages later. This, however, is the only error that I have noticed. The translations are admirable and the book is particularly valuable at the present time. D. O'K.

Poetry and Music

THE COLOURED KINGDOM. By Timothy Wharton. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1940. Pp. 84. 3s. 6d.

POEMS. By Michael McKenna. Dublin: Talbot Press. Pp. 64 2s. 6d.

THE FALL OF THE YEAR. By Moirin Cheavasa. Dublin: The Gayfield Press. 1940. Pp. 120. 7s. 6d.

MINT BY NIGHT. By Alfred Barrett, S.J. New York: America Press. 1938. Pp. 65. $1.50.

PARVULUS. By Sydney E. Jerrold (Madame Marie Christopher of the Order of the Assumption). Burns Oates. 1940. Pp. 82. 5s.

THE POEMS OF ALICE MEYNELL. London: Burns Oates. 1940. Pp. 222. 4s.

FEAR NO MORE: A Book of Poems for the Present Time by living English Poets. Cambridge University Press. 1940. 3s. 6d.

Mr. Wharton and Mr. McKenna strive to work Irish life and sensations of the land of Ireland into lyric, and both achieve a good deal of freshness and truth. Mr. Wharton has many a touch recalling Ledwidge, who was the very type of our true country poets, like "A mist of early green eager for June." He writes:

> It's the voice of the sea-wind singing on the great sea road of the south
> Is blocking the Connaught heaven with blue and white blossom of sky,
> Choking the ravines with roses and chanting from Shannon mouth
> That Munster is muffled in grasses.

Spring Song, on p. 58, is good and, what most of the poems are not, pretty well *finished.* A lengthy piece on *William of Galway and the Spanish Man*, giving a Galway pilot's account of early Irish navigators to Columbus, is less satisfactory; Mr. Wharton makes things too easy for himself with climatic and geographical poeticalities. Nor do I care for the jaunty vein of *The Road to the Lakes.*

Mr. McKenna, too, has a true vein, which he should work with

care and self-criticism. He seems to happen on his good things, and then to blunder into bad, as in

> The silent acolytes were led
> By a large crucifix:
> Slow passed their long soutanes, blood-red,
> Their brazen candle-sticks.
> And if the day was yet so hot
> All men who watched came hatted,
> I ween that now each man was not
> Though never sun abated.

The Shadowy Market Place is perhaps the best poem in the book.

The Fall of the Year belongs to an earlier phase of Irish poetry. Collected in this volume are Moirin Cheavasa's work of the period which, perhaps, began with Yeats's *Wanderings of Oisin* and ended with Mr. Clarke's *Sword of the West*; what has since driven our poets from the larger into smaller fields would be an interesting question. These narratives of our legendary past, *Liadain and Cuirithir*, *Midhir and Etain*, and a play and a poem on Deirdre, have perhaps largeness in excess; the narration and the metre run too loose and slack. Some of the shorter pieces in the book are more compulsive, breathing the patriotic rage of twenty years ago. *The Stones of Cursing* has colour and eloquence—and perhaps, like Yeats's own verses, may have "sent out certain men the English shot."

Fr. Barrett is better skilled in the craft of verse than any of these Irish poets. He writes in the modern style, but with an evident awareness of the best classical English models, and thus can express himself without fumbling. The book makes a distinct impression, revealing with reticent boldness the life of a young American priest.

Parvulus is also good poetry of the religious life, the affinities here being with medieval simplicity and the carol, and with the seventeenth-century school of Herbert and Crashaw.

From Burns and Oates comes a reprint, very well printed at the remarkable price of four shillings, of Mrs. Meynell's *Collected Poems*. Is it necessary to speak again of her delicate and quietly noble art? I think that a good many readers of Catholic poetry, who know Thompson by heart and perhaps Patmore, do not know Alice Meynell as they should. This book will bring her within their ken.

Fear No More is an anthology which the Cambridge Press has made of poems written in the few years before the war and in expectation of it, and of poems written in the first half-year, before the storm had fully broken. It is dedicated to the Poet Laureate, Mr. Masefield, who writes this note: "In times of danger the herd-mind has power; the individual mind, which alone creates things of value, is neglected. By the herd-mind, Man resists his enemy; by the individual mind he

conquers Death. Knowing this, the men who made this remarkable book, bid you Fear no more." The crisis and the war must be *thought* to a finish, says the foreword, and this book aims at showing how the English poets are fighting their battle of thought. As if to convey a belief that at such a time the personal man, the conscious man, the man facing himself, can and should forego individual name and fame, the poems are all printed anonymously. A strong sense of a representative voice is thus conveyed. And incidentally we read with an alertness and an equality of attention which is impossible with the ordinary sort of anthology. J. J. H.

WORDS FOR MUSIC. By V. C. Clinton-Baddeley. Cambridge University Press. 1941. 7s. 6d.

In recent years musicians have written wordless songs to be sung with closed lips, songs on one note with the music in the accompaniment, songs with a percussion orchestra applauding at the wrong times, music to accompany spoken poems, vocal music to conspicuously unpoetic words, until at last the imagination in its frenzy seems to have explored all possible roles of the human voice in music. Therefore it is timely that Mr. Clinton-Baddeley should call us to order by an inquiry into first principles. In the collaboration of poet and song-composer which is subordinate and what are the proper functions of each? W. B. Yeats would hear of nothing but the complete subordination of the musician. Mr. Clinton-Baddeley holds out for equal partnership: a song is not a poem; its words should be deliberately incomplete to leave something for the musician to supply. The words may omit all but the essence of a story, or suggest an idea so extravagant that only the intensification of music can make it plausible, or develop a refrain whose only purpose is to give the musician a free hand. Always they should vary in metrical structure. "This art demands of the musician that he shall devote his music to the interpretation of the words, and not merely to the decoration of a theme suggested to him by the words," and that he shall confine himself strictly to setting songs, verses written expressly for music, and never, never set poems complete in themselves. This thesis is proposed with a clarity, a certain gay energy of style, and a wealth of literary illustration that make the book pleasant reading. Its novelty and sanity and its high aim to restore the lost art of English song should make it indispensable to poet and musician alike, and certainly useful to the general reader.

But there is a third possible solution to the problem. Mr. Clinton-Baddeley seems to have forgotten Mozart's sinister words: "Give me the words and I will put the poetry into them." This means that, whatever poetry is already in the words, only Mozart's poetry will be perceptible in the song; it is the manifesto of a brigand. And in

fact when we are listening even to the simplest folk-song we may observe that, whatever music the original words held, it is now wholly suppressed and absorbed by that of the tune. Moreover the meaning of those words, if they had any (and Housman claimed that great poetry need not mean anything exactly), is dulled by the music to a mere whiff of emotional suggestion. Listen to the singing of *Hark, Hark, the lark!* Shakespeare's lovely epithets, his "winking Mary-buds" and "chaliced flowers," pass unheeded in the clamour of music not more beautiful. Not he at all but Schubert affects us. Shakespeare is devoured, digested, and assimilated, and nothing remains but the cannibal smacking his lips. Mr. Clinton-Baddeley holds that Schubert did no harm to the words. Agreement with his view depends on whether we hold that a piece of bread is improved by being eaten.

Not that the musician is deliberately predatory; he is constrained by nature to be predatory. He reads a poem, and half an hour afterwards it appears in his mind through a veil of music by which it is as fatally pulled out of shape as the outline of a sunken shell by the trembling water. Nature constrains him thus to assume the mastery, because nature demands that a single song shall be the work of a single artist. Men can collaborate in intellectual work or in artistic work compact of several experiences, but not in a work inspired by one simple experience, for the simple reason that my aesthetic experience can no more be yours than my headache can be your headache.

Briefly, then, there are two reasons for considering a song as music only and not at all as poetry: (1) We react to it as to music and not at all as to poetry; and (2) if it embodied the experience of anyone but the composer, it could not have the unity essential to all small art-forms. Words for music therefore are words for sacrifice, and the best hope of finding anyone willing to write them to-day is to induce the musician to write his own. After all he would be continuing a respectable tradition extending from the Psalmist down to Wagner. The Elizabethan theory revived by Mr. Clinton-Baddeley is a compromise with nature which will serve if compromise is inevitable.

A. L.

Miscellaneous

THE SUNDAY EPISTLES AND GOSPELS. By Right Rev. Mgr. P. Boylan, D.D., P.P. Dublin: Brown and Nolan. 1941. 2 vols. 7s. 6d. each.

THESE two volumes are welcome for many reasons. First, they reassure us that Mgr. Boylan will not let pastoral cares divert him from authorship. Hence we can hope for a continuation of those works by which he has won such distinction for himself and has shed such lustre on the Irish Church. Secondly, the task he undertakes is of great practical utility, conducing to a better fulfilment of that very important function,

the weekly instruction of the faithful. Thirdly, it is accomplished in a manner worthy of the author, which is tantamount to saying that it is as near to perfection as we have any right to expect in an imperfect world.

There are, of course, many works of similar scope and purpose in the various European languages. But this addition to the number, so far from being redundant, is on the contrary likely to supersede all others—at least in the English language. Not only is it more up-to-date, embodying the results of the most recent biblical criticism; but it is better planned. The texts of the Epistles and Gospels as in Douay version are supposed to be read to the people; but they are here given in a close literal translation of the original Greek by the author for the preacher himself. This helps the preacher to a more complete and accurate knowledge of the sense. Also the work is supplemented by notes, which are scholarly without being either pedantic or overloaded with references, citations or discussions. There is then added, in each case, a short exposition of the lessons to be learned from the inspired message, which is intended more as an example of what may be said than as a prescription of what should be said. It is meant to stimulate rather than dictate.

It is hard to see how a better plan could be devised; and as it is admirably executed throughout, the result is a work which cannot be too warmly recommended to all who have to face the ordeal of the Sunday sermon—for it is an ordeal more trying than the congregations can appreciate. These are often very critical of the efforts made. One hears quite a good deal of the failure of the pulpit. Numbers give us a reason for avoiding sermons that they never hear a good one. The inference, of course, is that the fault lies entirely with the preachers. That this is always the case is obviously untrue; but that it is often the case cannot be denied.

Sometimes, however, failure is due more to a misapprehension of what is needed than to any lack of goodwill. The older style of preaching is now long out of date. Whether at any time it was just the most suitable manner of proclaiming the Gospel of Christ is questionable. But now-a-days it is simply anathema. What is needed above all things is instruction in the truths of faith and the moral obligations they entail, conveyed in language within the reach of the congregation and made practical by adaptation to the daily lives of the listeners. For this the first requisite is a close and accurate knowledge of the Scriptures. Monsignor Boylan aims at imparting this, and there is no one better qualified for the task.

The publishers have fulfilled their part astonishingly well in the circumstances. Though the price of the volumes is moderate, everything—paper, printing, binding—is excellent, and would be excellent if there were neither war nor the many difficulties created by war.

P. J. Gannon

WHERE THE RIVER SHANNON FLOWS. By Richard Hayward. London: Harrap. 1940. Pp. 331. 12s. 6d. net.

WHAT an entertaining series of books could be written on the great rivers of the world! "And a river went out of the place of pleasure to water paradise"—a noble stream, no doubt, with gay luxuriant foliage on its banks and small, mysterious islands in its bed, and here and there a cascade with spray in billowy fleeces at its base and lofty pillars of mist sparkling like liquid diamonds in the sunlight. What a volume could be written of the Tigris, whose story goes back to the dawn of human civilization; or the Euphrates, beside which Abraham dwelt before he heard the call to journey to the Land of Promise; or the Indus, down which Alexander sailed with oriental pomp and splendour in the noonday of his conquering career; or the yellow Tiber, ruler of the western waters, as the Romans boasted: "corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum"; or the Danube and the Rhine along whose upper reaches that Celtic civilization developed which was one day to reach and transform Ireland; or the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the Amazon and La Plata, discovered as it were but yesterday, yet assured already of an abiding place in history!

Small, admittedly, our Irish Shannon is when compared with the giant streams, yet surely not unworthy of a bed in their select company. For none can gainsay its claim to be the noblest river in these islands. Happy, then, was the decision of Mr. Richard Hayward and his friends to explore its charms from its source in the Cavan hills to its mouth on the Atlantic seaboard, 214 miles away. The month was August; the year 1939; the way of travelling a car and caravan. The piping days of peace were still with us, though clouds were gathering darkly on the distant horizon. If the baggage was light, it included a first-class camera; and fifty-four illustrations thus add to the reader's pleasure as he accompanies the wayfarers on their wanderings.

It has been noted that the most prosaic persons are tempted to peep and smile when passing a cradle! Perhaps it is the same instinct which draws visitors year by year to Lug na Sionna, on the lower slopes of Cuilcagh, where the new-born stream lies spluttering in its "Pot." Thence it departs with a brisk, businesslike air in a brook about six feet wide. To leap across at this point is a simple matter for the supple of limb. The test of heroic spirit comes later when the modest, and sufficiently truthful remark that one has "jumped the Shannon" is met with withering incredulity! Mr. Hayward has many pleasant things to say about the "Shannon Pot" and the kindly people of ancient Gaelic stock who live beside it, but the leap was apparently omitted, so that there was no temptation to pose further down the river as a Cuchulainn or a Finn Mac Cool!

For the first ten miles of its course the Shannon is in a mighty

hurry. With a seemingly juvenile disregard for what grown-ups may say, it tumbles headlong downwards, dropping 186 feet before it pauses to reflect. Better counsels then apparently prevail; it pulls itself together, turns over a new leaf, and expanding into Lough Allen begins to look on the surrounding world with philosophic calm. For the next 130 miles its fall is but 51 feet. At Lanesborough it expands into Lough Ree, 18 miles long and in part 7 miles wide; while at Portumna it enters Lough Derg, 22 miles long and in part 9 miles wide. Having forced its way through a hard slate gorge between Clare and Tipperary, it rouses itself to renewed vigour and falls almost 100 feet in the 18 miles between Killaloe and Limerick. Sea-level is reached just above the latter city. Thereafter its ambitions swell until it ends between Loop Head and Kerry Head in a magnificent estuary which justifies Spenser's poetic line: "The spacious Shenan spreading like a sea."

From the scenic point of view the claim of the Shannon to distinction is undoubtedly moderate. The uppermost stretch, between Cavan and Leitrim, is a healthy and pleasant, if rather ragged, mountain area. Around Lough Allen the hills are bare; in the distance, indeed, they can look almost desolate. Carrick-on-Shannon is a district of charm, but the flat countryside suggests Holland and sluggish canals and the eye is not roused to excessive enthusiasm. The same remark applies to the long midland reach. There comes, however, at Lough Derg, a glimmer of real beauty. Near Castletown, a few miles below Dromineer, the road runs along the brow of a wooded hill and the view across the wide lake is truly impressive. Behind is the commanding eminence of Tountinna; beneath is the Lough with its islands and islets; beyond lie the Galway and Clare mountains, unchanging in their simple, brown loveliness. There are summer days when this glorious stretch of lake and mountain scenery is hard to surpass, even in Ireland. And some miles further down, from the "World's End," not far above the village of Castleconnell to the Falls of Doonass, a mile or more below, was river scenery that could compare with the finest of its kind in Europe. Now, alas, owing to the deflection of the water from the original bed to the canal that leads to Ardnacrusha, this stretch has become sadly mutilated, like a peacock that has lost its feathers.

It is, however, in the realms of legend and history that the Shannon comes proudly into its own. Here Mr. Hayward has read and listened (to storytellers on the spot, of course, not to the radio) with industry and effect. He can tell, then, of the Firbolg and the Tuatha Dé Danann, of Maeve, queen of Connacht, of the MacDermots of Magh Luirg, of the wonderful early churches on or near the Shannon at Clonmacnois, Clonfert, Terryglass, Iniscealtra, Killaloe, Scattery Island, of the sieges of Athlone and Limerick, of Goldsmith and the Edgeworths, of

Daniel O'Connell, of the recently-established Hydro-Electric Works near Limerick, of the transatlantic Air-base at Foynes. The great river, hoary with age and rich with numberless experiences, offers, in fact, material for a dozen volumes, but Mr. Hayward, with unerring judgement, collects all that is most interesting into this one. Those wise enough to turn over its pages will enlarge their mental outlook while learning to esteem at something of its true value the lordly Shannon.

J. R.

GNÁS NA GAEDHILGE. Cormac Ó Cadhlaigh, M.A., a sgríobh. Oifig an tSoláthair. 1941. 5s.

Isé *Gnás na Gaedhilge* an leabhar gramadaighe is iomláine ar choimhréir na Nua-Ghaedhilge dár cuireadh i gcló go fóill. Tá somplaí as gach canamhaint de na príomh-chanamhnacha curtha síos ag an ughdar mar léiriú ar gach ceist ghramadaighe dá bhfuil dá mhíniú aige, agus abairtí as an tSean-Ghaedhilg agus as an Meadhon-Ghaedhilg ar uairibh a chruthú na cosamhlachta nó na héagcosamhlachta atá idir coimhréir Ghaedhilge na sean-aimsire agus coimhréir Ghaedhilge an lae indiu. Agus mar bharr ar an iomlán tá " cleachtadh " don mhac léighinn ar lorg gach príomh-ranna den ghramadaigh atá mínighthe ag an ughdar. Bainfidh an mac léighinn tairbhe mhór as an leabhar, agus tairbhe ar leith as a bhfuil ráite fá'n " mBriathar Saor," fá'n " Modh Foshuidhteach," fá na forainmneacha, &rl.

Ceist do dhaoine léigheanta céacu is córa faoidh chéasta nó faoidh ghníomhach a thabhairt ar an " mBriathar Saor." Ceist d' aigneolaidhthe céacu cuspóir nó adhbhar cainte a bhíos ar a lorg indiu. Is furus a chruthú on tSean-Ghaedhilg agus ón Mheadhon-Ghaedhilg gur ainmnidh a bhíodh ar lorg na fuirme seo den bhriathar a fhad agus mhair an t-eadar-dhealú idir fuirm an ainmneadha agus an chuspóra den ainm-fhocal. Má tháinig athrú, agus má's cuspóir a bhíos ar a lorg indiu, badh chóir go mbéadh ar chumas an aosa léigheanta a rádh cé an tuairim ama a dtáinig an cuspóir i n-ionad an ainmneadha ar a lorg.

Déarfainn go gcuideochadh sé le mic léighinn dá mbéadh beagán leathanach i ndeireadh an leabhair ag cur síos ar shéimhiú agus ar urdhubhadh. Tá 660 leathanach sa leabhar cheana féin, agus ní dóigh gur mhaith leis an ughdar cur leis an méid sin ; ach dá gcuirtí na somplaí as an tSean-Ghaedhilg agus as an Meadhon-Ghaedhilg atá i gcorp an leabhair fa mhion-chló ag bun na leathanach, bhéadh oiread spáis fágtha, measaim, agus chuirfeadh ar chumas an ughdair cur síos ar shéimhiú agus ar urdhubhadh gan an leabhar a mhéadú.

Béidh mic léighinn agus gach duine a chuireas suim i ngramadaigh na Gaedhilge fa chomaoin mhóir ag an Ollamh Ó Cadhlaigh mar gheall ar an téacs-leabhar tairbheach a chur sé ar fagháil dóibh. Tá saothar

mór déanta aige. Saothar mór don duine aonair cur síos ar ghramadaigh chanamhnacha Ghaedhilge an lae indiu.

Céim mór ar aghaidh i gcúrsaí leighinn agus sgoláireachta leabhar mar *Gnás na Gaedhilge*. Dá mbéadh leabhar againn ar fhás agus meath na Gaedhilge ón tsean-am anall, bhéadh fáilte ag a lán roimhe. Tá a shúil againn go dtiocfaidh a leithéid lá éigin. Cibé duine a chuireas roimhe féin a sgríobhadh gheobhaidh sé congnamh mór de thaoibh na Nua-Ghaedhilge ón tsaothar so Cormaic Uí Chadhlaigh.

S. Ó S.

EL ALMA DE LAS PALABRAS. Diseno de semantica general. Por el P. Felix Restrepo, S.J. Bogotá. 1939. Pp. 244.

This is the second edition of Father Restrepo's book, the first having appeared in 1917. It is a good general survey of semantics, based largely on standard French and German works, but with a great deal of freshness in the arrangement and in the examples. These are taken from Spanish literature and from current Spanish speech and dialect, with liberal illustrations from Spanish-American usage. The Spanish student has here probably the best, certainly the only modern treatment of the subject in his own language; for the non-Spanish student there is here a valuable application of the principles of semantics to a new language.

We may note the excellent illustration of the loss of words through homophony from the Spanish of America. In that dialect, *z* is pronounced *s*; consequently *caza* (hunt), having come to sound exactly like *casa* (house), has been dropped in favour of *cacería*; *cazo* and *cebo*, apt to be confused with *caso* and *sebo*, have been replaced by *perol* and *carnada*. The word *fuego*, having come by another phonetic change to be pronounced like *juego*, has been replaced by *candela*; and for "candle" the *pueblo bajo bogotano* must say *vela*.

Father Restrepo's style is pleasant and unpedantic, and he allows himself to be more discursive and philosophic than is usual in philological handbooks. He knows that literature is after all the greatest activity of language and the best illustration of its laws, and he quotes liberally from the Spaniards ancient and modern. Thus, exaggeration in language is exemplified by lines from the *Romancero* on Isabella the Catholic—

> *En la tierra la primera*
> *y en cielo la segunda*;

and euphemism, as a reason why words fall out of use, is illustrated by a dialogue between Don Quixote and Sancho: Eso de *erutar* no entiendo, dijo Sancho. Y don Quijote le dijo: *Erutar*, Sancho, quiere decir *regoldar*, y este es uno de los más torpes vocablos que tiene la lengua

castellana, aunque es muy significativo, y así la gente curiosa se ha acogido al latín y al *regoldar* dice *erutar.*

The author quotes no English authorities, and I think he is sometimes wrong where he gives English examples. *Silly* is out of place on p. 62, and *simple* must be the word intended. I suspect some error also in the bit of American English in the footnote to p. 49 and in the example *fairy* on p. 51, and I do not think *manifestación* should be called a calque on *meeting.* Remarking that *traviesas* (railway sleepers) are called *durmientes* in Mexico and Colombia, the author does not note that this probably *is* a calque on an English word. J. J. H.

COMMENTARIUS RINUCCINIANUS : Volumen III. Florentiae confecerunt PP. Barnabas O'Ferrall et Daniel O'Connell ; nunc primum edidit Fr. Pater Stanislaus (Joannes Kavanagh), Ord. Min. Cap. Dublin : Stationery Office. 1940. Pp. xvi., 694. 30s.

This striking volume of *The Nuncio's Memoirs*, devoted entirely to the proceedings of the one year 1648, will be felt by every reader to be the dramatic central scene of the entire work. The writer, with Renaissance Latin style, blends into one urgent movement of Gaelic and National thought the varied sequence of well-placed documents and both Irish and Continental action. Very clearly the Ormond Party, fighting for the supremacy of the English state (represented by Queen Henrietta Maria and Charles Prince of Wales) in Ireland, is confronted at every point by the Nuncio and his faithful allies and diplomatic agents abroad. Numerous at every stage of that thrilling year are such episodes as the theological debates at the University of Paris, ordered by the Regent, Anne of Austria, wherein the protagonists were such men as O'Callaghan of Cork and O'Molony the elder of Killaloe. Towards the close enters as Envoy the younger O'Sullivan Beare, almost completely Hispanised by upbringing but well-equipped in Irish speech.

The fine terseness of the Latin style of the writer now exhibits its full power. Father Daniel O'Connell, who died at Rome in 1679, is most appositely summarised in the ' Sequence of Events ' drawn from the Florence-Milan MSS. by Father Stanislaus, persevering editor of this greatest History of the real Ireland of our greatest century—the seventeenth. T. C.

(*The list of books received has been unavoidably held over.*)

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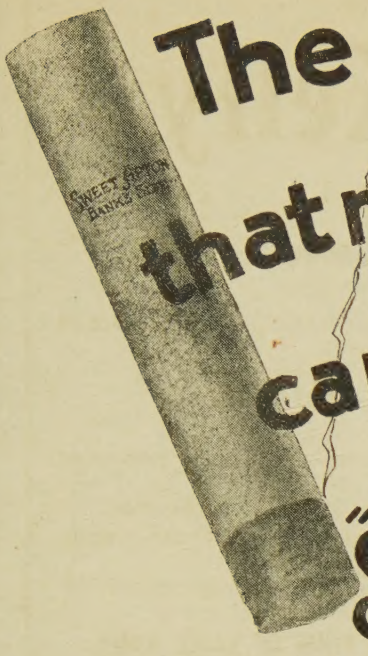

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